WILLIAM INGRAHAM KIP:

Tradition, Conflict and Transition

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PREFACE

Careful readers will notice the incomplete quality of this study. Major issues are not touched at all. For example, industrialization and the scientific explanations for the human condition (especially biological evolution) were potent forces in Nineteenth Century American culture. Yet, they play no part in this study. It is not that the various questions have not been raised, but that the evidence at hand does not warrant addressing those matters.

While the documentation presented is thorough and careful, it is limited and flawed. It is within the narrow parameters of the available evidence that such a study must be written. Occasionally, evidence suggests possibilities or conclusions. At such points the conjectures have been properly labeled. Still, other matters have had to remain cloaked in silence because that is what the available evidence demands.

Manuscripts which might have been valuable were destroyed. When the Kip family departed Albany, New York for San Francisco, the Bishop discarded or destroyed the bulk of his own papers. The cost of freight to California was prohibitively high, and in an area he properly expected to be untamed, there would be no need for the refinements of personal papers. Because of the distances and slow nature of transportation, he could not expect to conduct "business as usual" with friends in Atlantic States and Europe, so the papers would have no value. The colleges and seminaries he attended have long-since destroyed his student records. Publishers have gone out of business, merged with other companies, or suffered the loss by fire. In all these cases, records were destroyed. Churches and schools on the Pacific Coast either did not generate, or did not keep, or lost via floods and/or fires, the records of Bishop Kip's work in those particular insitutions. Most crippling of all to the interested researcher was the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906 which destroyed the Diocesan records, the Bishop's official papers, and his private records. Many municipal documents were lost. We have been left with incomplete files of many secular and religious newspapers and other periodicals.

Pertinent parish records are usually skimpy at best. The records of St. Peter's Parish, Morristown, New Jersey and those of Grace Church, New York City make but slight mention of Kip's presence. There are no parish records of his first five years at St. Paul's Church, Albany, New York. The remaining eleven years are covered by 104 pages of Vestry records, six of which make some reference to the Rector or his ministry, and an additional four mark his departure. The California parishes are no greater help.

Few organizational records report internal problems. Minutes and reports are usually intended to demonstrate consensus. Because religious bodies usually encourage unity of thought and action, their records are consensus-oriented more than many other types of organizations. While it is not difficult to find the printed records of diocesan conventions and other large bodies, they are **conditioned,** and do not give us a complete or accurate picture of the unique and special contributions of William Ingraham Kip.

The news articles in the national Church publications give helpful data, but are focused on events, not the meaning of those events. Within a narrow range, they help us know what happened, but not why. The gaps in our knowledge have to do with the matters of meaning in Kip's life. The printed articles fail to give insight to his thinking. They are usually focused on the situation of a particular parish and its needs and struggles. They function as self-serving pleas for missionary support.

Most of the extant manuscripts are isolated items which have been retained in autograph collections. This means that that are devoid of context, and contain comments which make little or no sense out of context. They have been retained for curiosity value, not for content. They are scattered and are found only by random digging and fortuitious accidents.

There are few manuscripts addressed to William Ingraham Kip. As a result, and because correspondents assume knowledge based on regular exchange of information, we get little context from his correspondents. We are deprived of a flow of ideas. There is no sense of give-and-take. We do not even have a clear sense of the **breadth or** depth of his correspondence.

The range of Kip's literary and academic interests are suggested in his own writings, and by the size of his library.

They are indicated by the few surviving book reviews he published. Yet, we have no catalogue of his library. It is possible to locate some of the volumes from his collection which have been taken into the library of the Church Divinity School of the Pacific. However, the fact that the books were on his shelf is no indication that he read them. (This author has located some such books with pages still uncut.) If we could confirm which books he read, we would still lack an understanding of his reactions and evaluations of them. If we had a basis for making such judgments, we would not be guaranteed that the books found represented an accurate sampling of the types and proportions of categories represented in Kip's total collection.

We know that William Ingraham Kip was a frequent contributor to numerous Church periodicals throughout his life. Because articles were unsigned and the business records of those publications and their editors are not presently known, few of the articles can be identified as his. Thus, we are deprived of any certain basis for attribution of authorship. This means that the very published items which would give us an understanding of the opinions and meanings Kip developed concerning events are not available to us. Being a man of circumspection, Kip preferred to say nothing unless he could speak well of people and things. He would speak of the good qualities of a person, and omit any negative comments. Even when being negative, he would be fleeting and cryptic in his statements. As a result, all but the most private of items are the product of Kip's careful self-censorship. It is easy to be led to suspicions based on his silence, but an argument from silence is always dangerous, and should carry no credibility.

It is clear that the evidence is limited and flawed. Some argue that in such a situation one should not engage in a study of the subject. On the contrary, I would argue that it is in just such situations that studies of this type must be done and shared. This is the first attempt at a thorough study of the life of William Ingraham Kip. Henceforth those who possess the single manuscript in a diverse autograph collection, or who come to have any pertinent data, can fit the item into its proper place. They will be more inclined to offer their limited data in an effort to complete the picture. It is this hope which leads to a chronicle-like quality at times.

Many people have contributed to the completion of this study. Harland Hogue suggested the subject and shared his surprise that there has not yet been a study of William Ingraham Kip. He began a lengthy, consuming and fascinating digging process which often took on the quality of a detective searching for clues or an archaeologist trying to reconstruct a way of life from bits and pieces stuck in the accumulated dirt and dust of time. Carroll E. B. Peeke was generous in his suggestion, encouraging and hopeful in his evaluations, and kind enough to withstand occasionally differing interpretations. Samuel Garrett was painstaking in his helpful reading and comments which made it possible to remove a plethora of minor mistakes before they became imbedded in the final version. Milene Rawlinson was loving, supportive, questioning and a good listener in ways which encouraged the best of research. Time after time, I was confronted by my own inability to write well, but she kept me working through such times so that a text emerged which was at least readable. The libraries and correspondents who helped locate data are indicated in the notes. Most of them recognized the limitations and flaws in existing materials, and in an effort to help, expended great efforts in searching for and suggesting other sources of material.

INTRODUCTION

Combatants are usually the focus of study. It is to the extremists that we generally turn attention to understand periods of conflict. That is as it should be. Yet such foci do not allow us to understand the whole dynamics of those times.

Philosophers of history often urge an understanding of dialectics in historical events. Protagonists engage each other in battle. Usually, the forces they represent settle upon less extreme courses of action. Resolution comes eventually. In common parlance, the pendulum swing is marked by a tendency to find the calm middle.

We treat opposing forces as though they are the only operative forces. In most situations, there are parties and factions of the center. People and positions are arrayed along the continuum from one extreme to another. Statistical theories suggest that in human experiences the bulk of a population is in the middle between extremes. William Ingraham Kip was such a man.

We often depict polarized opponents as principled people. Too often epithets are hurled at the **moderate middle:** weak, compromising, uncommitted, unprincipled, indecisive, vacillating, pliant, timid. Often the moderate is considered less worthy of attention and study. Yet, it is through study of the honest and principled moderate that we can understand the effects and dangers of the principals in the ranging battles.

For this reason, it is useful to study the life and work of William Ingraham Kip. As a principled voice of moderation, with a self-conscious desire to temper people and events, he represented a large number of Episcopalians in his day. His fears were the fears of many. The caution he proposed and lived was the caution of the parishioners who represented the bulk of the Church.

The simplistic historical treatment of William Ingraham Kip has been to identify a few of his positions and use them as a basis for categorizing him as a "Hobartian High Churchman." In large measure that is correct, yet because he was aloof from the partisanship usually entailed by that label, it is inaccurate. Because it denies the complexity of his thought, and his conscious choice of a middle road, the categorization limits our understanding of his intentions and role.

This biographical tracing allows us to examine the various forces which came to impinge upon him in various times and places. This is another facet of touching on the history of institutions and movements. Thus, in exploring the life of William Ingraham Kip, we are able to explore facets of the history of the Diocese of California during the first decades of its existence. We are enabled to understand materials relating to various larger themes in their more particular instances. For example, partisanship, aristocracy, missionary methods, and the role of the Church in society can be understood as those issues occurring in the life of the bishop of a diocese.

It has been argued that the Episcopal Church moved westward only when it could do so with the guarantees of ease and comfort. This common understanding can be explored in the life of an early western bishop such as William Ingraham Kip. It is important that we consider the conditions into which he was plunged when he moved to California. Because he remained in California when he might have abandoned the venture, we should be able to understand both his motivations and the associated personal and financial costs. All these factors aid us in dedermining the truth of the common assertion about the delay in Episcopal missionary endeavors.

Throughout his long career, Kip was a busy author. His works were generally intended for a popular audience. There was always a scholarly base, but the intended readers were the "common" parishioners of the Episcopal Church. The continuing flow of works and the frequent reprinting of many of them suggest the degree to which he was genuinely popular among the bulk of people in the Episcopal Church. It is true that Church historians have largely ignored his writing, but that is not true of the people. As a result, we gain a glimpse of the intellectual and spiritual nature of the bulk of the Church by considering the written contributions of William Ingraham Kip.

As a self-conscious aristocrat and gentleman, William Ingraham Kip experienced the demise of the old aristocracy in the United States. As we trace his life through the Nineteenth Century, it is possible to see the times and ways in which these patricians were confronted and affronted by the rise of new manners, new views, and a new leadership. Without making a case for retaining that elite class, we can sense the dignified sadness with which Kip experienced the demise of his heritage.

William Ingraham Kip is not one of the principal figures in history outside the history of the Diocese of California. Yet his life provides good insights to the moderate forces within the Church throughout most of the Nineteenth Century. He gives a view of what came to be the moderate resolutions of some of the conflicts which beset the Church during his life. He helps us understand the bulk of the membership of the Church. He helps us understand the changes which took place in the fabric of American culture during the Nineteenth Century.

This presentation is chronological in structure, with few dramatics, such as flash-backs. As the first full-length study of William Ingraham Kip, it is best that this work give an outline on which future studies can rely, and into which newly located data can be fit. While this choice gives this piece a pedestrian quality, it is a necessary structure for such a seminal work.

Readers should treat this as a piece of woven fabric. The warp of this fabric is the linear thread of chronology. The woof is the weaving in and out of established themes which recur throughout the life of our subject.

These topics include: The Status of the "Old Aristocracy," Conflict and Partisanship, The Role of the Church, Church-State Relationships, The Nature of Missionary Work, Episcopal Ministry with Minority Peoples, and The Nature and Role of the Clergy.

While parallel language is used to signal the reappearance of related woof threads, it is assumed that careful readers will apprehend the relationships, and that careless readers will profit little from bald assertions of relationship. It is hoped that this approach allows the thoughtful reader the liberty to assess the relationships in an independent manner, and that interpretive disagreement with this author is neither unwarranted nor improper.

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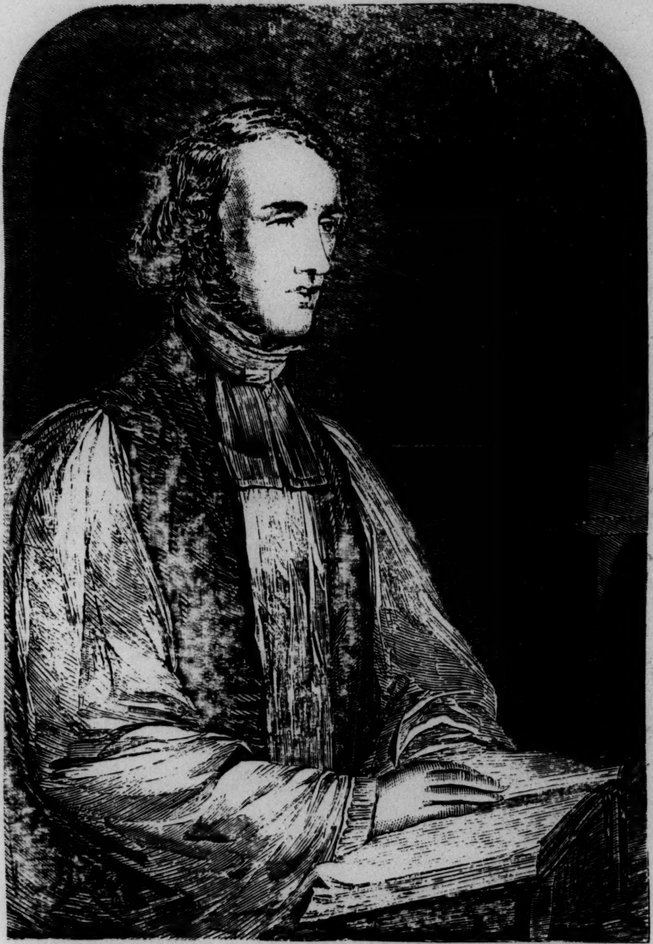


WILLIAM INGRAHAM KIP

Based on a painting
done about 1837.
(From THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, Oct. 30, 1858)

CHAPTER 1

THE EARLY YEARS

As he wrote about family members and matters for relatives, William Ingraham Kip's thoughts naturally turned to the ancestral home at Kip's Bay, New York City. That home, and its demise, were akin to an embodied allegory of the family for which it served as the visible focal point. Both family and house were significant parts of the earliest Dutch aristocratic tradition in North America: these were notable places and notable people who were financially important.

William Ingraham Kip was steeped in this tradition and knew well the heritage, role, and status of his ancient family as it had been involved in the affairs of his beloved New York. So, as we consider the history of the house at Kip's Bay, we are acquainting ourselves with a family and social tradition which were thoroughly familiar to the young son of the ancient family. And, we call to mind those factors which helped formulate the character traits and understandings of William Ingraham Kip.

The house called forth the remembrance of old acquaintances. It also called forth the earliest and most intimate personal reminiscences of pleasant childhood days.[1]

During the early days of New Amsterdam, the Kip family was granted land amounting to about one hundred fifty acres overlooking the shores of the East River. There, in 1655, Jacobus Kip built the house at Kip's Bay. The spacious home was built of small bricks imported from Holland, with a stone placed above the main entrance into which was incised the ancestral coat of arms. Built some four miles from the City of New Amsterdam, the large farm home was sheltered by nearby hills and the ancient oak trees which surrounded the site. The rural qualities imparted by native vegetation were enhanced by its diverse cultivated orchard. In later years, the orchard included plums, peaches, pears, and apples.[2]

Shortly before the 1851 demolition of the house, William Ingraham Kip stood in the desolation of the deserted building and mused on its past and his family's long life therein. Five generations of his family were born there; yet as destruction neared, the family was widely dispersed.

During the Revolutionary War, the house served successively as a headquarters for George Washington and Sir Henry Clinton and General Howe. From the house at Kip's Bay, Major John Andre left for the mission to Benedict Arnold, which was to cost him his life. On his return to New York City, George Washington--the newly elected President--paid a return visit to the house at Kip's Bay. Notwithstanding the loss of much family property and fortune due to loyalty to the British Crown, the Kip's Bay House remained in the possession of the family.[3] In his later years, William Ingraham Kip spoke of the house as the family's "first home on this continent," and said somewhat wistfully of this family seat that "it exists among the recollections of the writer's earliest days."[4]

The Kip family traced its lineage back to Ruloff De Kype, a prominent supporter of the Guises in the Catholic-Protestant warfare in France. When the Catholic cause suffered serious reverses, he and his family were forced to flee to the Low Countries for refuge. Though Ruloff returned to, and died in, France, at least one son remained in the Low Countries. Several of the son's descendents were among the earliest settlers of New Amsterdam.[5]

The three early-arriving brothers, Hendrick, Jacobus, and Isaac, immediately became prominent.[6] Hendrick and Isaac were numbered among the twenty Great Burghers of the young city of New Amsterdam; this privileged category was established in 1697.[7] Because he had taken residence outside the City, Jacobus was ineligible for the same honor.

Over the years other relatives confirmed and enhanced the aristocractic reputation and tradition of the family. In the late 17th Century, one branch of the family secured a patent for a large landed estate along the Hudson River near Rhinebeck; it was titled Kipsburg Manor. The owners of the estates in the region were styled "patroons" and granted traditional feudal rights. Kipsburg Manor remained in the family's possession until it was lost by confiscation during the American Revolution.[8]

Leonard Kip, grandfather of William Ingraham Kip, died some seven years before the birth of the future bishop. Though William Ingraham never met his grandfather, he knew him by reputation. During the Revolutionary War, grandfather Leonard was pro-British, and absent from the City of New York for some time. Ill health partially incapacitated him, and he was unable to be militarily active. Nonetheless, most of his property was confiscated as a result of his political associations.[9] After the War, grandfather Leonard took legal steps to secure the return of his confiscated property. However, not even the skills of his notable attorney, Alexander Hamilton, were able to prevail.[10] So, he faced the necessity of rebuilding the family fortune.

During the late 1770's, Leonard Kip founded and maintained an imported dry-goods store catering to the luxurious tastes of the rising wealthy class of New York City.[11] Because Leonard Kip, father of William Ingraham, would have been a mere sixteen in 1790, it is most likely that the founder of the dry-goods business was the grandfather Leonard.

The father of William Ingraham Kip, also named Leonard, spent some years in the family's relatively new and high-quality business. While it appears that the younger Leonard was an adept and capable business man, merchandising was not to his liking. So, after several years in the family business, he withdrew from the enterprise. He soon became active in banking and finance and remained so for the rest of his business life. Failing health eventually forced him to remove himself entirely from business and commerce. He therefore withdrew to the vicinity of Hartford, Connecticut, where he took up residence in a nearby country home. He died there on July 2, 1846.[12]

The Kip family status and wealth were clearly suggested by the heritage, property holdings and type and level of business and commerce at which family members functioned. Additional evidence of the family's aristocractic tradition is found in the fact that Negro slaves were known in the family from quite early days. One woman widow ancestor owned seven slaves about 1703--an extremely large number for New York. Notwithstanding the family's earlier economic and fiscal problems, the family fortune increased so much that Kip recalled seeing domestic slaves in his father's home and those of other close relatives.[13] This staff of house servants provided an air of elegance and ease in both home and family. The younger Leonard Kip married Maria Ingraham on December 12, 1809; it was the merger of two notable families.

In England, the Ingraham family was a part of the nobility back to the 12th Century reign of King Henry II. Maria's father, Duncan Ingraham, was a Loyalist. With the coming of the Revolutionary War, he fled to England. He returned to this country in 1783 after the Treaty of Peace was signed. He took up residence at Greenvale Farm, near Poughkeepsie, New York. William Ingraham Kip reports that during Duncan's sojourn in Europe, as a man of wealth and position, Ingraham was well known to John Adams while both were in Paris in 1779.[14]

Some members of the Ingraham family resided in South Carolina. At least one of Maria's cousins, Duncan Ingraham, of the U. S. Navy, maintained a home in Charleston, South Carolina.[15]

The new family was one which combined two notable traditions. The Kip family had its roots and lineage in Holland and the earliest days of the New Amsterdam colony. Its roots were in the soil of the New World to which its name was attached in two places: Kip's Bay and Kipsburg. Furthermore, by virtue of active participation in the affairs of New York, the Kips were notable and of high standing in the society about them. They were also possessed of substantial money. To this heritage was added that of the Ingrahams. Here, too, was a family of notable ancient lineage, and substantial wealth. During the Revolutionary War, both the senior Leonard Kip and Duncan Ingraham were pro-British. So, the newly married younger Leonard Kip and his bride, Maria Ingraham were steeped in American aristocratic tradition with its roots in the gentry of Europe. Into this joint heritage their children were born.

We know rather little of the childhood days of William Ingraham Kip. On October 3, 1811, he was born in New York City, the son of Leonard Kip (the younger) and Maria Ingraham Kip. The home must have been permeated with talk of business, finance and politics. The notables of New York frequented the home. Included on the list of visitors were such names as: Vice President D. D. Tompkins, Judge Brockholdst Livingston, Clinton, Radcliff, Duane, Colden, the Swarthouts, and the Morrises.[16] Because business and political figures met in the Kip home, it was a logical place in which the relationship of the fields could be discussed.

In November, 1812 Leonard Kip joined thirty other New York merchants in petitioning the Congress for release of their British-made goods seized on American-owned ships in American ports.[17] The seizure was a result of the newly instituted embargo on British goods which had arisen following their purchases and before delivery was completed.

From 1817 to 1821 Leonard Kip served as a member of the Common Council of the City of New York. About this time he withdrew from the family dry-goods business. In 1821 Leonard Kip entered New York banking circles by becoming the founding President of the North River Bank, a post which he held until at least 1836. In 1822, he became a Director of the Washington Insurance Company.[18] In later years, William Ingraham Kip surveyed his childhood and the men with whom his father regularly associated; they were men to whom he "looked up as if they were superior beings."[19]

Originally William Ingraham Kip intended to enter the legal profession. He began his collegiate education at Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey.[20] He then transferred to Yale College. There his classmates included Noah Porter, later President of Yale, Lyman H. Atwater, later a

Yale professor, and Thomas Clark, later the Episcopal Bishop of Rhode Island. In 1830 Clark and Kip served as managers of the Junior Class Ball.[21] They graduated in 1831. Kip quickly began legal studies in the law offices of the father of Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish. Through that association, the young Kip came to know Aaron Burr, who frequented the law offices.[22]

But the law was not sufficiently attractive to William Ingraham Kip. So, after about a year's study of the law, he decided to turn to theology. In October, 1832 he entered the evangelical Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia.[23] While the records of his student days in Virginia have not survived, we know that Kip formed several friendships which lasted a lifetime. Two of his later books were dedicated to friends from Virginia days. Some twenty years later, in preparing the dedication for his book, The Catacombs of Rome, Kip recalled his student friendship with Charles Coatsworth Pinckney, Jr., descendent of a family notable in the history of South Carolina since prior to the Revolutionary War. In his lyrical dedication, he recalled the time "when two youth stood on the banks of the Potomac, about to separate," when they jointly thought, "of the shadowy future which to them was radiant with all that the imagination could picture."[24] And some forty-four years after their common student days ended, Kip dedicated, The Church of the Apostles to Joseph P. B. Wilmer, Bishop of Louisiana, "In remembrance of their early student days." [25] But, Northerner and High

Churchman that he was, Kip returned to New York in July, 1833 and entered the General Theological Seminary. He completed his studies and graduated in the summer of 1835.

While Kip was studying in New York, his family came to know John Vanderlyn, the noted New York artist. Vanderlyn did portraits of both Leonard Kip (father of the future Bishop), and his wife Maria Ingraham Kip. The senior Kip agreed to display a Vanderlyn painting in his home and serve as the sales agent for Vanderlyn. Sale of the painting, titled, "Marius Amidst the Ruins of Carthage," required a room of sufficient size to properly display the painting which measured more than five feet high by seven feet wide, and a sales agent with sufficient contacts among the wealthy of New York as to make a sale possible. The senior Kip had both. Unable to make a sale at Vanderlyn's price, Leonard Kip made his own offer, stating that the painting "will probably always remain in my family, as my son has taken a great liking to it." The agreement was concluded and the painting was owned by either Leonard Kip, Sr., or William Ingraham Kip for some fifty-four years thereafter.[26]

During this period, the General Theological Seminary was a major center of the High Church Party in the Episcopal Church. There Kip came into close contact with such notable High Churchmen as Benjamin T. Onderdonk, his Bishop, and William Rollinson Whittingham, subsequently Bishop of Maryland. In Whittingham's classes on ecclesiastical history, Kip imbibed the High Church concern for, and attention to, the pre-

Reformation heritage of the "primitive church." So, the bulk of Kip's seminary days were spent in the surroundings of his familiar New York aristocratic tradition and the relative High Churchmanship of New York, as intensified by the especially High Church emphasis of the Seminary.

After graduation, William Ingraham Kip was ordained deacon on June 28, 1835 by Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk at St. John's Episcopal Church in Brooklyn. He was then transferred to the Diocese of New Jersey.[27]

Graduation also brought release from the school rule that seminarians be unmarried. He married Maria Elizabeth Lawrence, daughter of Isaac Lawrence, of New York, on July 1, 1835.[28] The New York Lawrences traced their lineage back to early 17th Century New York colonists of prominence.[29] Maria's father, Isaac, was a highly successful merchant and banker; he was a man of prominence in New York City. An active Churchman, he was successively a member of the vestries of Grace Church, St. George's Church, and St. Thomas' Church, of which he served as Warden from 1823 to 1839. He was also an early Trustee of the General Theological Seminary.[30] Mr. Lawrence's status in the banking world is suggested by the fact that he became President of the United States Bank in 1817, and a Director of the Bank of the United States, in Philadelphia, from 1817 to 1819.[31] The marriage, then, strengthened William Ingraham Kip's links to aristocratic, banking and Church circles.

After ordination to the diaconate, ecclesiastical events occurred in relatively rapid succession. The newly-married Kips went immediately to St. Peter's Church in Morristown, New Jersey, where he assumed the rectorship recently declined by William R. Whittingham, his former Seminary teacher. The sketchy early records of that parish merely reflect that Kip served as rector for slightly more than one year, and earned the esteem of the parishoners.[32] It was in St. Peter's Church that Kip was ordained to the Priesthood by Bishop George Washington Doane on October 20, 1835.[33]

On November 1, 1836 he became an Assistant Minister at Grace Church, New York City. It was February 14, 1837 before the Vestry officially confirmed that appointment for the limited term of six months. It was in Grace Church that Kip officiated at both the marriage of his sister, Elizabeth, to the Reverend Henry L. Storrs, and the baptism of his own son, Lawrence.[34] The brief haven of Grace Church allowed time and opportunity for seeking more permanent and rewarding employment for the young clergyman. So, for a second time in his brief clerical career, he passed through the portals of a parish church leaving virtually no mark.

CHAPTER 2

ALBANY: THE YEARS OF STRUGGLE

From the relative quiet and security of a large and wealthy congregation, the Kips went to a struggling parish in a turbulent environment. They were transported from New York City to Albany.

In the mid-1830's, Albany was a bustling and intellectually diverse community in which alert citizens were engaged in a multiplicity of causes, ideas, and movements. Albany was the eastern terminus of the Erie Canal; so, through this funnel-city poured the vast number of immigrants headed into the Old Northwest. To the sedentary qualities of the Dutch and English heritage of this State Capital were added the large numbers of seemingly restless, poor and transient peoples of Europe, dressed shabbily and strangely, and resorting to a seeming babel of tongues. Residents were both onlookers and participants in the volatile politics which still afflicted the infant nation, and this, its most commercially oriented state. The demise of the leaders of the Revolution left in its wake intense competition for enduring leadership. The newer semi-populist leaders relied heavily on small farmers and recent immigrant peoples for their strength, while others mustered the support of an older, landed and mercantile-aristocratic tradition. The conflicts and problems were exacerbated by the economic Panic of 1837.

Religiously, Albany was on the fringes of that geographic region which has since come to be called the "burned-over district." There, during the 1830's and 1840's repeated waves of revivalism stirred the populace; though on the eastern edge of that area, Albany was not wholly immune to the problems which arose for the enduring and traditionalist-minded mainline denominations. In the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1837, the break between the New School and the Old School groups occurred and separate ecclesiastical structures resulted. During the initial stages of that conflict, the Old School Presbyterians dismissed the New School snyods of Utica, Geneva and Genesee, in the "burned-over district" of New York. So, Albany was on the fringes of an ecclesiastical conflict of serious proportions.[1]

It was into this intense, demanding and potentially chaotic situation the 25-year old William Ingraham Kip and his young wife were plunged when he accepted the rectorship of St. Paul's Church. The parish was not quite ten years old, and had already had three rectors. The new rector accepted the call on June 13, 1837, and began his duties on July 1. There were 101 communicants listed at the time of his arrival.[2] The congregation had purchased property and erected a Gothic stone church, which was subsequently consecrated by Bishop Hobart.[3] Parishioners were full of hope and promise.

Young Kip settled into the new parish situation quickly and easily. A few short weeks after his arrival, the rector was engaged to deliver an ecclesiastical lecture in a New York City parish.[4] By mid-day on September 10, he had prepared his first class for confirmation,and endured his first Confirmation and Episcopal Visitation in the new parish.[5] Following that service, Kip and the rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany, agreed to arrangements for their November pulpit exchange, indicating that he had established close and cordial relationships with the neighboring rector.[6]

In early October, Kip returned to New York City to attend the Diocesan Convention where he reported a total membership increase of six, not including the twenty-six persons presented in that first confirmation class. His report also portrayed an active Sunday School with one hundred and twenty-eight pupils and sixteen teachers.[7]

At that Convention, in a then-unique move in the American Church, Bishop Benjamin Onderdonk was provided financial support apart from continuing parish duties. Other Bishops received ecclesiastical compensation from parishes or schools which they served. Earlier, a Bishop of New York might find himself a junior member of the staff of Trinity Parish, New York City. There was serious concern--especially on the part of Bishop Onderdonk himself--as to whether or not the Bishop would subsequently have access to an altar at which to function. Bishops were without any legal power to control the use of parish buildings. Kip joined twenty-seven other clergy in pledging loyalty to the Bishop, and guaranteeing the Bishop access to, and use of, their parish churches and altars for his functioning. Addressing Onderdonk, these clergy spoke of their happiness, "to receive the benefit of your valued and pious instructions in their several churches."[8]

By mid-November, Kip had formed a friendship with Daniel D. Barnard, an observer, commentator and reporter of the State political scene, and especially of the State Legislature. Kip had earlier commended Barnard's writings and was serving as the go-between for the editor of a newly-established review who was seeking Barnard's services.[9] In these few short months, William Ingraham Kip had shown talents, capacities and interests which were to be demonstrated more fully in years to come: pastor, lecturer, supporter of Benjamin T. Onderdonk,and literary critic and informal agent.

In 1838 the Episcopal Church reached a quiet, but important, turning point. In 1834 Bishop Onderdonk had suggested the division of his by then large, State-wide Diocese. The issue remained under discussion until, in August, 1838, a special convention of the Diocese was held to deal with the subject. Unable to resolve the issue, the meeting was adjourned until September, when under the leadership of Professor William Whittingham of General Seminary, the Convention majority resolved to proceed to the division of the Diocese and the establishment of the Diocese of Western New York. This was the first time it was decided that a diocese need not be co-terminous with the boundaries of the State. While it was a matter of "warm discussion" among Convention delegates and throughout the Diocese, Kip did not even attend those important meetings.[10] Here again, we have early evidence of a recurring Kip characteristic: the avoidance of conflict situations.

Nonetheless, a month later, he attended the annual Diocesan Convention, and his report of parochial activity gives clear evidence of the pastoral work. The statistics show that forty-seven new communicant members were added during the year, and that baptisms, marriages and funerals were more numerous than the previous year. The Sunday School had markedly increased with the number of pupils jumping to one hundred ninety-five and the teachers to twenty-nine. A parish library had been begun during the year and totalled some one hundred seventy-five volumes.[11] Thus, in spite of the lingering effects of the Panic of 1837, St. Paul's Parish continued to grow.

Meanwhile, Kip continued to encourage literature and education. He supported the work of the Young Men's Institute of Albany which provided opportunities for the continuing education of employed youth. Toward this end he urged his brother-in-law, the poet James A. Hillhouse, to visit

Albany and deliver a lecture at the Institute, and also have the opportunity to meet the notable political and social figures of the State of New York.[12]

Its energetic rector and numeric growth notwithstanding, St. Paul's Parish was financially troubled. On January 24, 1839 the Vestry determined to sell the Church and organ for not less than Fifteen Thousand, Five Hundred Dollars. The sale was designed to solve the problem of a heavy debt on the building. The Vestry further determined that the Church had been located in a remote and unsuitable portion of the City. A move was therefore in order. As a means to this end, it was agreed to purchase a theater on South Pearl Street and engage an architect to plan for the renovation and conversion of the theater into a facility suitable for Church use.[13] On February 13, the church building was sold to the Roman Catholic Church for the full asking price.

And, on February 20, a committee was authorized to purchase the theater for Six Thousand Dollars. The plans of the architect were adopted and a carpenter engaged to complete the renovation at a total cost of Nine Thousand, Three Hundred Dollars.[14] The last Anglican services were held in the old building in June, and in July, St. Paul's congregation began a brief period of sharing the facilities of St. Peter's Parish in central Albany.[15]

There is at least a hint of some internal dissension in St. Paul's Parish. As soon as St. Paul's moved, a new congregation, Trinity Church, was organized and began functioning in the neighborhood of the old church building.[16] Thus, during the summer of 1839, St.Paul's Parish unexpectedly spawned the third Episcopal congregation in Albany.

The period of shared facilities and theater renovation was a long one. The economic difficulties of parishioners made it necessary for savings to be effected. For example, it was necessary to delay installation of stained glass windows in favor of "common ground glass" ones. Still, the women of the parish were able to raise funds for the purchase of a new Communion chalice to be used in the refurbished building.[17] It was in late February that Bishop Onderdonk visited and consecrated the building.[18] The scope of the remodeling is indicated by a later remembrance that "there was nothing left of the original edifice, but the four walls and the roof."[19] As a preventive against suspicions, which might attach to Kip and the Vestry because of the sale and move of the Church, Bishop Onderdonk strongly expressed personal approval of the course of action taken by the Rector and Vestry.[20] With its building ready for occupancy, the Vestry took its leave of St. Peter's Church by resolving to express gratitude for the extended use of the facilities during the renovation.[21]

Having endured great change and turmoil, St. Paul's Parish faced the task of regaining its strength and stability. Its stamina was demonstrated when on May 3, 1840 a class of thirty-three was presented to Bishop Onderdonk for Confirmation. The annual report showed a communicant membership of about one hundred, seventeen--down from previous years--and noted that approximately one-third of that number had joined the congregation within the past six months. This is a tribute to the missionary talents of the Rector. The Sunday School, which opened in September, 1840, was drastically reduced to the number of fifty students and eighteen teachers. And, the parish made no contributions to the several Diocesan Funds: Episcopal Fund,Diocesan Fund, Education Fund and Missionary Fund.[22] This was indeed an unsettled and difficult time for the parish and its still young Rector.

The Rector's forthright and eloquent presentations from the pulpit must have been significant sources of strength and sustenance for St. Paul's congregation. Only two sermons from this early period have survived; nonetheless, they present the picture of a learned man who is rooted in the realities and problems of the world at hand.

On the Sunday following the consecration of the newly renovated theater, Kip preached a sermon which, by implication, described his view of the proper style of ministry for himself and the congregation committed to his care. Drawing his text from II Corinthians 4:2 ("By manifestation of the truth, commending ourselves to everyman's conscience in the sight of God "), he spoke of the witness of the Church, both corporate and individual. He began by dismissing three types of preaching as being "worse than useless". First, he identified a worldly style which, "falls softly upon their ears, and they love it, because it awakens no fears." The second style he decried was intellectual in nature, which he said was, "Chaste, yet cold, it is addressed entirely to the reason." Finally, he disparaged preaching "addressed to the imagination." Kip included here preaching which appealed to enthusiasm and emotion, of which he said, "the emotions are fictitious, and have no deep foundation in the heart." So, in a grand sweep he sadly dismissed the bulk of the preaching of his day, particularly including the revival preaching of the western New York "burned-over district" and its echoes in Albany. Turning to the positive, he urged his congregation to share the preaching of a Gospel which spoke of the moral ruin of mankind, and the essential necessity of the atoning sacrifice of Jesus, the Christ. This, he said, should be presented in a balanced approach with both love and earnestness. The sermon concluded with an invocation, "let us entreat the Eternal Spirit to descend upon this church, to dedicate it to His service."[23]

Self-consciously affecting the prophetic style, Kip spoke of "national sins" in a sermon delivered immediately prior to the election of 1840. Having invoked the examples of various Old Testament prophets and their stances, vis-à-vis the Israel of old, Kip concluded, "National sins, then, are not a forbidden topic to the ministers of God." He followed with the affirmation that the United States, all nations, was accountable before Almighty God. Then he turned his attention to specific national sins. The first subject chosen for condemnation was a national pride. His aristocratic heritage was troubled by appeals to "the multitude" and the ever-widening franchise whereby, "Each individual, whatever may be his intellect or means of improvement, is appealed to as one who is abundantly competent to decide the weightiest points of policy and government." However, his general critique was far more damning! He described a nation which defined itself as so wise as to be beyond error. Secondly, he condemned the "worship of wealth." In this regard, he opposed the adulation accorded newly wealthy persons whose gain was not secured in accord with the principles of Christian morality. Finally, he condemned a press which, he said, used falsehood, the excitement of passions, and the violation of privacy as a means of its own advancement. Kip termed such a press corrupt and demoralizing.[24] These condemnations must have been particularly potent in an Albany in which news reporters and the representatives of newly wealthy men sought to curry information and favor from the politicians who in turn curried favor with "the multitudes".

This, then, was the man who sought to rebuild the partially dispersed congregation. He was a man who knew his own mind and spoke it directly, who left little doubt as to his opinions and preferences. He carried with him the beneficial traits of eagerness, energy and clear thinking. He was at once both learned and practical.

The parish's new location necessitated a new rectory; consequently, the Kip family took up residence at 154 State Street near downtown Albany. By this time, the family included William, Maria, their two sons--Lawrence and William, Jr. --and three white female Irish servants in their twenties.[25]

Later in the year--and for the first time--William Ingraham Kip took an active, if minor, role in the convention of the Diocese. At the opening Service of Morning Prayer, he read the lessons. He was later in the anomalous position of serving on a committee which recommended disciplinary action against clergy and parishes which had not paid contributions toward the Education Fund, his parish being one of many in this delinquent category. The committee recommended withdrawing Convention voting privileges for clergy and parishes in arrears; this unpopular recommendation was quickly withdrawn and a new committee appointed to study the matter. Kip was not a member of the new committee.[26]

During the latter part of 1839 and the early part of 1840, Kip's congregation experienced changing fortunes. The dwindling of membership and interest in the parish was evident. Minor financial difficulties beset the struggling congregation. Yet as the efforts to renovate the "new" building were completed, and the work began in earnest on the rebuilding of the congregation, personal and congregational fortunes appeared on the rise and there was reason for renewed hope.

During 1841, St. Paul's Parish seems to have experienced a financial renaissance. By the Spring of that year, it was apparent that Trinity Church, which had been established in the original neighborhood in which St. Paul's had been located, was in serious financial difficulty. An inability to pay the rent resulted in the seizure of the organ, books, cushions and other parish paraphenalia; these were disposed of in a forced sale to benefit the creditors. In the interest of sustaining this fledgling parish, Kip suggested that Trinity Parish be designated a missionary parish and be aided by the more stable parishes in town: St. Peter's and St. Paul's. While the people of Trinity Parish declined the offer, it provides clear evidence of the renewed financial strength of St. Paul's Parish. And the refusal is but another suggestion of the tension between Trinity and St. Paul's parishes, and the minor disruption caused by the move to the theater.[27]

In mid-September, the Vestry of St. Paul's Church authorized the Rector to relinquish its mortgage interest in another Albany church by executing an assignment of that interest to other parties.[28] Again, the creditor status suggests the financial affluence of the parish. While the parish was not without its own debt, it liquidated Three Thousand Dollars of that debt during the year, in addition to collecting and distributing more than Six Hundred Eighty Dollars for various diocesan and missionary purposes. The rector reported that a substantial amount of that money went "principally for Church building at our small western stations."[29] A rise in membership, relative financial wealth and a missionary vision beyond its own immediate neighborhood, suggests the strength, health and wholesomeness of the parish.

As a diversion, during the latter half of 1841, Kip undertook a study of the Civil War in Stuart, England. In the course of that study, his attention turned to William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. This study resulted in Kip's authorship of an article entitled, "Life and Character of Archbishop Laud," published in the April, 1842 issue of The New York Review. The principal purpose behind the article was to discourage resort to the autocratic Laud as a model for High Church clergy of the 1840's.[30]

Laud has generally been viewed as the initiator of High Churchmanship--as it is now known--in the Church of England. He was regarded as a Ritualist, an authoritatian, and a strong opponent of the Puritan movement in his day. Stringency and persecution of opponents were marks of his ecclesiastical administration; he was, therefore, a major impetus in the flight of Puritans to the New World.[31] Nonetheless, Laud's churchmanship made him a figure of honor to the High Church segment of the American Church in the 1840's.[32]

In the article and resulting correspondence concerning Laud, we find the seeds of Kip's subsequent reaction to the extreme partisanship in the Episcopal Church of his day. Clearly aware of the impact of the partisanship resulting from the Tractarian Movement (centered at Oxford University, the leaders of which Kip identified as "the present Oxford divines"), he noted that Laud's person and position in history were cast in harsh and unreal terms based more on the ecclesiastical party of the commentator than on the historical data. Kip commends Laud for little, save good intentions. The negative character traits are assessed as: imprudent, intemperate, violent, cruel. Kip also judged him an encourager of despotism throughout the Kingdom. Kip is careful to demonstrate that during the early conflict between the Cavaliers and the Roundheads, the issue was politics, not religion. As a result, he assesses Laud in his political relationship to the King and the rest of the Commonwealth. Supporting the notion of separation between Church and State, Kip asserted that the misuse of the See of Canterbury, and expecially the misuse of political power, were the reasons for the execution of Archbishop Laud.[33]

Because English Tractarians and their American supporters looked to Laud as an initiator of proper High Church practices, the Kip article was taken as an attack on the High Churchmanship in vogue in New York. Because it was published anonymously, it was not possible for most readers to detect that it had been written by an American clergyman of High Church persuasion.

The Reverend Samuel Seabury, editor of The Churchman, journal of the Diocese of New York, and principal organ of the High Churchmen in America, responded to the article with what Kip called a "violent attack". In a strong confidential letter, Kip reminded Seabury of the distinction drawn between politics and religion, and reiterated his condemnation of Laud on political grounds.[34]

Having begun the article by surveying the generally partisan assessments of the life and character of Laud, Kip noted that the student of history had previously been presented a dichotomous choice with reference to the portrayal of Archbishop Laud. His judgment was that, "The truth, as is usual in such cases, is probably midway between these two extremes."[35]

Though troubled by the publicly stinging rebuke of Seabury's rejoinder, Kip responded in privacy and confidence. After receiving Seabury's reply, he declined to be quoted publicly in his own defense. He expressed concern for the degree of belligerence demonstrated by correspondence to _The Churchman_, and included mention of his own membership in the Peace Society.

In this incident we see the general approach of William Ingraham Kip to future partisanship and conflict: avoidance. A direct expression of this attitude is found in a letter to the Editor of _The Churchman_. After reference to "your belligerent correspondents," Kip said he did not have the "slightest desire to enter the lists with anyone." [36]

Though Kip was clearly a High Churchman, and a friend of the leaders of the High Church party in the Diocese of New York, he was not doctrinaire, but engaged in analysis on a situation-by-situation basis. His independence of party and insistence upon educated and mature choice in matters of churchmanship was once expressed in the wish that he had the time to prepare quarterly articles akin to that on Laud. The proposed series of articles would have focused on the High Churchmen of the 1840's to whom Kip made reference as "my ultra brethren." As was the case with the Laud article, the purpose would have been to administer, "a dose of information on subjects about which they talk much and know little."[37]

The year 1842 brought mixed blessings to St. Paul's Parish. The rector's venture into print brought him some note outside the Parish from those aware of his responsibility for the article; yet with it came a high level of criticism, antagonism and suspicion. New problems arose.

Meanwhile the Parish appears to have had some concern over its debt. A special committee of the Vestry was appointed to confer with the Rector of St. Peter's Parish, the oldest parish in Albany, with reference to the possibility of securing a loan with which to liquidate the debt on St. Paul's property. When an unfavorable report was submitted, a committee was established to seek pledges from within the Parish. Having been well-handled, the concern seems to have vanished.[38]

While financial difficulties beset the local merchant community, more than $525.00 was raised for benevolent purposes in the parish. Though $1,100.00 was raised to liquidate the

Parish debt, this was less than half the amount raised the previous year. Yet other statistics demonstrated growth. Communicant membership rose. The number of both pupils and teachers in the Sunday School rose. The number of volumes in the Parish Library increased. Baptisms, marriages and burials also rose.[39] With these mixed blessings, the Parish faced 1843.

Yet because Kip was in the midst of a new study and writing program, there was no time for the projected series of articles on Stuart England. The new project was a book about the Lenten season. Though intended for publication in 1843, Kip had nearly finished the text within a month after Easter, 1842.[40]

There was little advanced thought as to demand for, or distribution of, the work. Kip had arranged for the book (commonly known as The Lenten Fast) to be published in Albany by Erastus H. Pease. So inexperienced was Pease that he had neither arrangements nor ideas as to how distribution might be accomplished. Kip's ignorance was shown in agreeing to an Ash Wednesday publication date, with review copies available less than a month before publication. As a result, the book was not widely available for Lent, 1843. Recognizing that the work would be viewed as a High Church publication, Kip did arrange to send a review copy to his former mentor, William Rollinson Whittingham, now

Bishop of Maryland. He hoped Whittingham's support would help promote sales in his own diocese and that of Maryland.[41]

Kip's use of presentation copies of The Lenten Fast seems to have been wise. In slightly less than three weeks after the official publication date a mere one hundred fifty copies of the edition of one thousand remained unsold. Though the book was a commercial and ecclesiastical success, Kip derived no monetary benefit from the work.[42]

Even as the distribution and sale of one book was underway, Kip was unknowingly beginning preparation on his second book. During the winter Albany was beset by what Kip called the "constant wildfire" of the repeated "fires" of religious revivals. Because the bulk of his congregation was composed of converts to Anglicanism, Kip felt some anxiety over the stability of his congregation in the face of this wave of religious agitation. As a result, he decided to offer a series of open lectures on the nature and work of the Episcopal Church. He later candidly admitted that he began that lecture series "without having formed any plan." As a result of the series, numerous people joined St. Paul's congregation.[43] On the evening of May 7, 1843, Bishop Onderdonk administered the rite of Confirmation to sixty-four candidates from St. Paul's Parish. These confirmands, in combination with transfers of membership added to a total of one hundred three new members to the congregation. This growth in the face of anticipated loss is evidence of the drawing power of William Ingraham Kip's ministry in the face of the challenge of active revivalism nearby.[44]

The series of ten lectures ultimately became Kip's most popular book: The Double Witness of the Church.[45] As a result of numerous requests to have the lectures published, Kip spent several months on the owrk of revision and expansion of the texts. Written as an Anglican apologia, the book is a conscious attempt to demonstrate the errors of both Roman Catholic and Protestant chruches--hence it reflected the "double witness" of Anglicanism. Here, again, we encounter the mediatorial Kip. In this work he purposely eschews the extremes and depicts Anglicanism as the "via media." Yet, ever the mediator, even as regards his own Communion, Kip warned against those Episcopalians who would move to "an extreme bordering on Romanism."[46] Throughout the book one finds positive statements rather than negative ones. Thus, while by implication the book witnesses against two systems of thought, yet in practice, it affirms traditional Anglican theological and practical stances. The text witnesses against the sects of Protestantism and the larger Protestant denominations on the one hand, and by implication Roman Catholicism on the other hand.

Soon the Episcopal Chruch became embroiled in a controversy initiated by the ordination of a man accused of favoring "Romish ways". On the morning of July 2, 1843, Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk ordained Arthur Carey to the diaconate. Carey was widely known for his earnest support of the British Tractarians. As a result, his rector, the Reverend Dr. Hugh Smith, and another Low Churchman, the Reverend Dr. Henry Anthon, cooperated in formally protesting the proposed ordination. As a result of the protest, Bishop Onderdonk arranged, and conducted, a special examination of the candidate, in which both Smith and Anthon took part. When, over the opposition of Smith and Anthon, the majority of examining presbyters found no basis for impeding the proposed ordination, the Bishop determined to proceed.

During the service of ordination, Smith and Anthon formally protested again, and their protest was rejected by the Bishop on the grounds that it was a matter which had already been raised and satisfactorily examined. Further, Onderdonk said the opportunity to state impediments was an opportunity for the laity, since through various committees and examinations procedures, the clergy had previous opportunity to impede ordination. Because he had continued with the ordination service, Onderdonk found himself in the middle of a rapidly brewing storm between High Church and Evangelical factions in the whole Episcopal Church. While formal charges subsequently raised against him assailed his morals, it was actually this ordination which prompted the ecclesiastical trial and suspension from the ministry of Bishop Benjamin Onderdonk.[47]

The New York Diocesan Convention was the next battleground over the issue. A resolution asked the next national General Convention to provide canonical guidelines for situations such as the Carey ordination. William Ingraham Kip voted with the majority of the clergy to table the motion, while the lay delegates from his parish voted with the minority of the laity in the same interest. Because the lay order voted against the motion to table, the resolution continued under consideration. Later Bishop Onderdonk commended the resolution at hand, because it would avoid "the introduction of doctrinal points (to this Convention), which cannot be here settled, and the discussion of which can do nothing but harm." When it was moved to refer the matter to a special committee, both Kip and lay delegates from his parish voted "No" with the majority and the motion was lost. Finally, on the issue of the original resolution, both Kip and his lay delegates voted with the majority to reject the resolution and keep formal consideration of the matter within the Diocese. So, the resolution was defeated.[48] The support of his Bishop and one-time mentor notwithstanding, Kip refused to support the move to refer the issue to a national forum in which there was serious doubt that the High Church faction had sufficient votes to control the outcome.

For yet another year, St. Paul's parish experienced notable growth. The income and Sunday School remained relatively static. But with eighty-five baptisms and sixty-four confirmations, the communicant membership of the parish rose dramatically to a total of about 230 persons. And the parish continued, as it had generally done in the past, to contribute to the various funds of the Diocese.[49]

Samuel Seabury hired Arthur Carey as an Assistant Minister at the Church of the Annunciation, New York City. When Carey died in early 1844, Seabury preached the funeral sermon. In that sermon, he commended the example of Carey. Kip particularly mentioned the excellence of the sermon and its contribution to the advancement of the proper principles for the guidance of the Church. Assessing the over-all results of the Carey incident as having defeated the efforts of the Evangelical "clique" Kip spoke favorably of the controversy. With reference to his own Parish, he spoke with pride of its serene quality in the midst of the raging national battles over churchmanship.[50]

In the tranquility of his parochial situation, William Ingraham Kip and his family moved to a new home: 150 State Street.[51]

September was an exceedingly busy month for the Kip family. On September 13, William Ingraham took part in the consecration of St. Paul's Church, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.[52] Later in the month, he attended the Diocesan Convention.

At the New York Diocesan Convention several attempts were made to permit open conflict between the High Church and Evangelical factions. Thomas J. Oakley, who in 1843 introduced the resolution requesting a canon for dealing with Carey-like situations, moved to confirm to the Convention President the "usual powers of presiding officers in deliberative assemblies" and to provide all persons "freedom of debate." He was ruled out of order. When the ruling was appealed to the floor, Kip voted to sustain the Chair. While the first portion of the proposal was cast in permissive language, it apparently would have restricted the powers and actions of Bishop Onderdonk, who served as Convention President. It would, for example, have denied the Bishop opportunity to make comments and recommendations on matters of business. The second proposal would have made open and unrestricted conflict legitimate. So, in company with the vast majority of clergy and lay delegates, Kip voted to avoid open conflict.

Later it was moved to suspend business to refer the problem of financial support of the Episcopate to a select committee. Kip again joined the majority to defeat the motion. The committee, and its report to the floor would have provided a forum for criticism of Bishop Onderdonk in an issue-oriented way. The move, then, was an attempt to create an opportunity for criticism by explanations as to why the independent status of the Bishop could not be supported as had been promised some years beforehand. Rather than provide the desired forum, the Convention merely voted to affirm its responsibility to pay the Bishop's guaranteed income; in this both Kip and the delegates from his parish voted to confirm the Diocesan obligation.[53] As the convention of 1844 closed, it was obvious that the Evangelical faction could not succeed in mounting a Diocesan-level attack on their bishop. Meanwhile, Onderdonk's supporters, including William Ingraham Kip, returned to their homes and parishes secure in the knowledge that their Bishop was largely safe from attack and harm within the Diocese.

In Albany, Kip assisted in the final preparation for a family tour of Europe. On September 30, the Vestry of St. Paul's formally granted him a one year leave of absence to permit the European trip. On October 1, the Vestry met with Kip to take formal leave of him.[54]

He left behind him a parish in stable and static condition. The communicant membership had risen from two hundred thirty persons to about two hundred forty during the prior year. The parish maintained its required contributions to the several Diocesan funds, though other benevolence giving was slightly decreased, as was the weekly offering income. However, none of the statistical changes were in any way unusual.[55]

The Kip family spent a few days in New York City and on October 8, 1844 took its leave of the United States. They departed on the ship "La Duchesse d'Orleans" for Havre.[56]

Having spent more than seven years as rector of the Parish of St. Paul in Albany, William Ingraham Kip had seen significant changes in his pastoral charge. The once financially troubled congregation had secured a new building and location and was now financially stable. Membership had more than doubled. Greater fiscal strength made it possible for the Parish to contribute regularly to the canonically required funds of the Diocese. The enthusiasm of revivalism had swept through the City and region without seriously harming his congregation. Indeed, the membership had increased during the same period. His moderate High Churchmanship had been inculcated in parishioners such that the turmoil of the Diocese was not in the slightest evidence in the parish. And, the once young rector, notable for the heritage of his aristocratic family, was now noted in his own right as lecturer, pastor, confidant of the notables of the State, and reputable author, Kip and his parish had come through their years of struggle, and were now enjoying relative ease. The time was opportune for the rector to take temporary leave of his congregation without fear of any brewing storm.

CHAPTER 3

THE EUROPEAN TOUR

The Kips' European tour was designed as a working trip. The two young sons were left in Hartford with grandfather Leonard Kip. This gave William Ingraham and Maria Lawrence Kip greater freedom as they traveled about Europe. In a Pastoral Letter, intended for Easter, the young Rector wrote from Rome reminding his congregation that the tour was not "mere sight seeing," but rather one for "study and mental improvement."[1] The work and opinions of the rest of his life were notably influenced by these experiences.

The published results of the trip were numerous. Within four years of the beginning of the tour, Kip had published some nineteen articles describing aspects of European terrain and life; nearly twenty-five years later he published the final descriptive article resulting from the trip.[2] There were also two descriptive books: The Christmas Holydays in Rome, and The Catacombs of Rome.[3] He also wrote two brief pastoral letters for his congregation.[4] But, not all the published results were Kip's original work; some were edited translations.

While in England, Kip discovered the library of William Van Mildert, late Bishop of Durham, being sold in a bookstore. There he purchased the multi-volume set titled Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, Ecrites des Missiones Etrangeres, from which he translated substantial materials.[5] In The Early Jesuit Missions in North America, Kip gathered, translated and edited materials concerning Jesuit activities in eastern North America. The second edited and translated work, Historical Scenes From the Old Jesuit Missions, is a series of interesting, unrelated and curious tales from throughout the world. Four of these stories were published separately as magazine articles.[6]

One additional edited work was issued in his name, and resulted from the European trip. Variously titled Mary Howard, or Recantation, or Confessions of a Convert to Romanism, or combinations thereof, it was a gently polemic tract for the times distinctly out of keeping with Kip's other works. The work purports to be a first-person account of Italian family life as experienced by a one-time Anglican woman. No author's name appears with the work, and Kip's function was merely that of editor and authority for verification of the life style depicted. No claim is made that Kip knew or met the author. Indeed, he says merely that "a friend placed it in the hands of the editor."[7]

The inefficient mail service during the trip lost letters and affected Kip's recall of details of the travels. After landing at Havre, the Kips went to Paris, where they visited with Maria's uncle Augustus. Finding him "kind and affectionate," Maria urged him to return to the United States; but he found his work for "reforming the world in general" so consuming as to require continued residence in Paris.[8] Next, they went to Marseilles and spent a few days. They then traveled into Italy. Kip wrote a series of descriptive dispatches concerning the French travels; they were intended for magazine publication. Though he forwarded some twelve or thirteen dispatches with American consular materials, none arrived at his publisher's. So, he lost his only written records of travels in France.[9]

The Italian itinerary is well covered. After a few days in Genoa, the family moved on to Rome, where they spent about four weeks before continuing to Naples. There they spent an additional four weeks. Brief periods in Leghorn and Pisa preceded an extended visit to Florence. Brief visits in Bologna, Ferrara and Venice followed.

We know of two additional stops, though details are lost. The third week in March, 1845 was spent in Vienna. Then the party traversed Germany, where they visited Cologne. Rotterdam, the Hague and Amsterdam were also on the itinerary.[10] At some subsequent time, the Kips were in England.

Observations during the trip appear tinged by rampant patriotism common to the era. On at least two occasions, Kip made gratuitous payments to customs officials who might otherwise have inordinately delayed the party's passage through customs. Answering possible moral questions raised by his American readers, Kip noted that such payments were "not regarded as a bribe, but as a fee to prevent annoyance."[11]

After a brief catalogue of transportation personnel, porters and government officials, all of whom expected various payments and gratuities, Kip generalized and spoke of being thus "fleeced on all sides" throughout Italy.[12] Another negative view of Italian character was provoked by the contemplation of bandits preying on travelers between the Papal States and Naples. Kip remained unworried by the prospect of robbery, because "Italians are too cowardly to rob in the daytime." Similar contemplation moved an English fellow-traveler to propose preparation and armed defense. Though Kip considered such a course both unnecessary and unwise, he said nothing to his companion "for fear John Bull should think Brother Jonathan was afraid to stand on the defensive."[13] Thus, he not only saw evidence of bad character and judgment in Europeans, and especially Italians, but saw in himself--as an American--better character qualities.

The books and articles which Kip wrote on the basis of the trip use the descriptive narration of travel as the organizing structure. Yet within that framework, various themes are regularly encountered. There are descriptions, tales, musings, evaluations of antiquities and classics and comments on recent European history. Cultural materials are included, especially those related to libraries, the graphic arts and ecclesiastical ceremonies and rites. Finally, there are occasional recollections of contemporary European notables. In short, the narratives are diverse and give clear evidence of the multiple purposes of the trip.

Most of Kip's descriptions of terrain and people are of a somewhat pleasant and romantic quality. He briefly noted encounter with poverty and misery,[14] though he principally devoted effort to the creation and depiction of pleasant sights, poetically described. His own lyrical quality was frequently augmented by quotations from the writings of both classical poets and contemporary authors.[15]

Throughout the Italian travels, Kip turned major attention to Roman antiquities. He made frequent reference to Roman historical figures, historians and poets. In Rome, special attention was given the once-vast suburban area, the Capitoline Hill region, the Coliseum and baths, the Appian Way, and the catacombs. While he often described rural Italy in its relationship to unrestored Roman ruins, his fascination with Roman civilization is most clearly demonstrated in two articles about Herculaneum and Pompeii. As he wandered through these two ruined cities, Kip's mind was captivated by the romance of that civilization as it lay around him. Departure was difficult because "it required an effort to recall ourselves to this present time." On a later visit to the Naples Museum, his attention was again focused on materials recovered from the cities.[16] Yet his interest extended well beyond Roman civilization.

During the course of his travels, Kip examined the collections of several major libraries in Europe. He was impressed by the "literary air" of the Bibliotheque du Roi in Paris, and the Bodleian Library in England. On the other hand, the "stupendous collection" of the Vatican Library was neither evident nor accessible, and left him unimpressed as a result.[17] Two Florentine libraries favorably impressed Kip. One was the Laurentian Library, associated with the Church of San Lorenzo. The size (9,000 manuscripts), and antiquity of the collection impressed him. He also gained entree to the private library of Leopold II, the Grand Duke of Tuscany. While surprised by the size of the collection (80,000 volumes and 1,500 manuscripts), Kip was even more deeply impressed by both the depth and breadth of the collection.[18]

There is also evidence of interest in and knowledge of the history of Western art. Kip's descriptions of Roman antiquities contain frequent reference to mosaics and the artistry of architecture. His observations of Rome include both description and critique of the art treasures of the Vatican.[19] In Florence he visited the studio and home of Michaelangelo. At various places around that City, he saw art works by Cellini, Raphael, Titian and Michaelangelo.[20] In a visit to Venice he saw numerous art works, including some by Titian.[21] But Kip seems also to have been interested in contemporary art; while in Venice he visited an American sculptor named Powers.[22]

In addition to observations on the art and architecture of St. Peter's Basilica, Rome, Kip was attentive to churches in the many cities he visited. So, for example, his architectural tastes were more pleased by the churches of Genoa than those of Paris. He noticed the"saracenic" influence on the architecture of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Genoa, as particularly demonstrated by the juxtaposition of black and white stone.[23]

Any trip covering such terrain and time and begun with the intent of making one more "useful" necessarily has many beneficial results. The trip seems to have enabled Kip to establish a moderate stance vis-à-vis Roman Catholicism. It appears to have provoked a great deal of thought regarding the rise and fall of individuals and civilizations. Kip's knowledge of, and appreciation for, art appears to have been enhanced.

In the course of his travels,William Ingraham Kip became aware of the diversity within the Roman Catholic Church. In Paris he detected a faith of form without substance, and he decried the resulting "hollowness." Yet, in Genoa, he met people who believed their expressed statements of faith; this he warmly approved.[24] While in many places he saw churches and places of prayer faithfully maintained, he stayed in one palace which had become a hotel in which the Oratory had been "degraded into a dressing-room".[25]

In the conventual church of the Order of St. Stephen, he considered the great change as that once-great military-religious order had transmuted itself into a quiet and peaceful group.[26]

As he stood inside the vastness of St. Peter's Basilica, Kip was quite conscious of the degree to which that building symbolized the welcome of diverse peoples around the globe.[27] This consciousness of diversity in the communion of Rome was dramatically symbolized by his encounter with young Chinese students studying for the priesthood in the Jesuit Order.[28] He was also deeply impressed by students from throughout the world who were housed, taught and examined at the College of the Congregation Propaganda Fide. He made it a particular point to list the 59 languages in which examinations were conducted for this diverse student body.[29]

In summary, Kip reported both good and bad aspects of Roman Catholicism. Apparent doctrinal narrowness, even before the Reformation, was balanced by doctrinal questioning and diversity. Monastic abuses were balanced by regular and devoted prayers ascending from many monastic communities. The involvement of certain religious orders in European power politics was balanced by charitable and missionary endeavors of those same orders. So Kip spoke at once of the need for reformation and the beneficence and faithfulness of many within the Roman communion. Addressing himself to those who could find nothing good within the Roman Catholic Church, Kip spoke of the evils therein being matched by evils and problems within the non-Roman Church.[30] His was, therefore, an even-handed approach and evaluation, a remarkably unique quality for an

American of that time.

Certain events, practices, and beliefs, were forthrightly condemned as superstition and hoax by William Ingraham Kip. He was particularly attentive to these while in Rome. He was disturbed by special ceremonies on St. Peter's Day, conducted before the specially clothed statute of St. Peter. And he disputed claims of authenticity for relics, including: a portion of the true Cross, the head of St. Andrew, the lance which pierced Jesus, and a cloth purported to contain the impressions of Jesus' facial features. He was also scornful of a casket-covered chair purporting to be an exact replica of the cathedra of St. Peter.[31] Kip was also deeply disturbed by the claim that a facial impression in an old Roman jail cell stone was caused when the stone yielded to cushion the fall of St. Peter when he was thrown against the wall.[32] He discovered that Neopolitan Church officials had custody of a vial purportedly containing the solidified blood of St. Januarius, the City's patron saint. At annual festivals the contents of the vial were seen to liquify and were poured from one part of the container to another. Again, Kip rejected claims of authenticity, and suggested the material to be a substance liquified by the heat of hands holding the vial.[33] Thus, throughout his Italian journey, Kip found himself faced with claims he labeled superstition and hoax, but which were presented by Church officials under the guise of factors important to the faith. These claims saddened him greatly.

On balance, Kip was favorably impressed by Roman Catholic Religious Orders. Affirming the most prevalent criticism of the Society of Jesus, he decried their "sharing in all the wily and tangled diplomacy of Europe." Yet he lauded their efforts in missionary fields, and especially the Jesuit ability to "fall back on the first and simplest principles of their faith."[34] A Capuchin monastery overlooking Naples also impressed him favorably by its ceaseless work of quiet devotion.[35] In both Naples and Florence, Kip was deeply moved by the tertiary religious organizations which moved quietly about the cities caring for the sick and dying. These confraternities were composed of people from all classes and segments of society, yet anonymity was strictly maintained, even though some members were notable aristocrats. He expressed the opinion that the care thus rendered was far superior to that provided the sick of the United States.[36]

Institutions caring for the sick and needy did not escape his attention. In Genoa, he toured the City's insane asylum, upon which he heaped great praise. He also visited the hospital in which indigent aged were cared for on a long-term basis. After visiting this bright, airy, and expansive institution, he spoke with scorn of similar American institutions which had a "cheerless, desolate appearance."[37] The Florentine insane asylum confronted him with sights which evoked deep pity; yet, he considered the inmates extremely well treated.[38] Thus, his observations of charitable organizations and institutions kindly disposed William Ingraham Kip to the personal and social dimensions of Roman Catholicism in Italy.

Kip seized the opportunity to observe ritual Papal functioning, and to take part in a small group audience with Pope Gregory XVI. On Christmas morning, the Pope participated in the High Mass in St. Peter's Basilica. Gorgeously robed, jewel bedecked and borne aloft on his throne, carried by attendants, the Pope struck Kip as being easily mistaken for the principal object of worship in the mind of the uninitiated. The Pope had the appearance of a passive object in the whole event. During the audience in the Papal apartment, Kip found him an energetic man with a depth of knowledge about contemporary American affairs, and a great good nature. He also had an air of genuine humility. Though not believing him a man of great intellectual achievement, Kip was pleasantly impressed by the Pope.[39] Thus, at a minimum, he carried with him a favorable impression of the man.

Still, Kip found nothing commendable about the government of the Papal States. It was with some disdain that he made note of the presence of misery and beggars. Due to press censorship reports of the frequent robberies in Rome were available only in whispered conversations in Rome's many cafes. Thus deprived of accurate information, it was necessary for travelers to be extra wary. And of course, there was no freedom of worship; Protestant worship was forbidden within the bounds of the old City of Rome. In summary, he termed Papal Government "a wretched government."[40]

The "degradation" of families and civilizations was a matter of great interest for Kip. We have already noted his particular fascination with antiquities and the ruined cities and buildings which he was able to observe. Throughout his descriptions we find references to once-noble palaces which were either ruined or in great disrepair. He specifically noted the departed glories of whole cities (e.g., Pisa), and of particular institutions (e.g., the University at Bologna). The "desolation of Ferrara provoked deep thought."[41] His concern also attached to people. In Florence he noted the depressed condition of the descendents of Americus Vespucius, the noted cartographer. And, he found it generally true that Italian nobility had "abandoned intellectual pursuits."[42]

Because the bulk of his writings on the European travels were intended as description, there is relatively little outright interpretive material. However, the meaning Kip placed on the "degradation" of individuals and civilizations is perhaps best captured by an observation made with reference to Genoa. Having briefly described that city, he said "the view is a melancholy one, as it reminds us of the instability of earthly grandeur, and the manner in which the

the most powerful families must sink into nothing."[43]

The Kips returned to New York in early August,1845.[44] They had visited France, Italy, Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and England. They had done a great deal of sightseeing, and paid particular attention to the cultural dimensions of Europe, and had met some notables in Europe. William Ingraham Kip had formed many impressions regarding Roman Catholicism, the durability of fame and fortune, an acquainted himself with the arts of Europe. He had been faithful to the search for "mental improvement to qualify myself better for usefulness."[45]

CHAPTER 4

ALBANY: YEARS OF PAROCHIAL STABILITY

The Kips left for Europe on the eve of a General Convention of the Episcopal Church; they returned on the eve of a Diocesan Convention. The ecclesiastical events of that ten month period hit the Diocese of New York with virtually cataclysmic force. The Kip who had consistently chosen to avoid conflict situations, found himself removed by circumstances from the most difficult events in the history of his Diocese. At the time of their departure, the Kips knew their Diocese was a place in which High and Evangelical Churchmen frequently skirmished. They returned to find people divisive and antagonistic.

During the General Convention of 1844 the General Theological Seminary in New York City came under sustained attack from the Evangelical faction around the nation. There was great fear that the Tractarian Movement, centered at Oxford, England, had infiltrated the Seminary, and was threatening to undermine the Protestant character of the Episcopal Church. Benjamin T. Onderdonk of New York was under particular scrutiny--both as a bishop and as a member of the Seminary faculty, teaching courses relating to the nature, ministry and polity of the Church. His ordination of Arthur Carey in 1843 was considered proof of his sympathy with the Tractarian Movement. While the investigation of the Seminary calmed few minds and settled no issues, it provided no basis for an Evangelical condemnation of the school. The result was an armed and wary truce between the factions.

During the course of the Convention a whispering campaign circulated reports detrimental to the character of Bishop Onderdonk. Several bishops privately visited New York after the Convention. Their investigations gave no credence to the rumors. Nonetheless, other bishops decided to present Onderdonk for ecclesiastical trial. The charges were that Onderdonk had certain evil intentions regarding several women; no overt acts of an illegal nature were ever levelled. In a series of actions which, in retrospect, appear colored and conditioned by ecclesiastical partisanship, the Bishop was convicted of immorality. A sentence of suspension from the exercise of the ministry was passed in January, 1845.[1] The sentence, as imposed, was without provision for termination. So, when the Kip family returned from Europe, they found a Diocese without a functioning bishop, lacking provision for episcopal superivision, and with great uncertainty as to how the episcopal function could--or would--be exercised. This situation had obtained for some six months.

But even in his absence, Kip wanted no part of the divisiveness which was to be a major factor in Diocesan life for many years to come. It is likely he had heard the ugly rumors about Onderdonk before leaving for Europe. It is equally likely that he received news of developments at the General Convention while travelling in Europe. Newly arrived newspapers and travelers from the United States surely carried such startling news. From Paris, on November 12, 1844, he wrote a pastoral letter intended to be read on Christmas. In the midst of a series of pleasant and polite platitudes, Kip referred to the gathering Diocesan storm:

> "Let me hear while absent from you...that the appeals of faction and disorganization meet with no welcome within your borders...."[2]

It was with this advice in mind, and the realities of division and Diocesan chaos that Kip returned to Albany to resume the pastoral charge of St. Paul's Parish.

Six weeks after his return, Kip attended the emotion-charged Diocesan Convention. In a situation without precedent the Convention's obvious task was to provide for the future governance of a diocese without a bishop. The Evangelical faction submitted a resolution declaring that even if restored to active status in the episcopacy, Bishop Onderdonk could henceforth "never perform the Episcopal functions in this Diocese with any prospect of usefulness to the Church". As part of a decided clergy majority, Kip voted to table the motion,thereby avoiding the public wrenching discussion of the person of Benjamin T. Onderdonk. The task of setting a positive direction remained. As a first step in that direction Kip moved, and the Convention carried, a request for a report of the year's work of the Standing Committee. So, after more than eight years in the ordained ministry, Kip submitted his first resolution to a Diocesan Convention; its intention was to move his Diocese in a positive and creative direction. Later the same day, he was appointed to select a Committee of Twenty which was to consider numerous Convention concerns, both general and specific: the state of the Diocese, measures for the future, a parish vestry's resolution asking for Bishop Onderdonk's resignation, the issue of salary payments to Bishop Onderdonk during the period of suspension, the resolution to declare Onderdonk henceforth useless, and the Standing Committee report.[3]

The following day, the Committee of Twenty submitted its report. That report gives good evidence of the divisiveness within the Diocese and the strength of the High Church faction; it was submitted by its majority of fourteen, with which Kip joined. The report contained six recommendations. First, it urged legal incorporation of the Episcopal Fund. Second, it affirmed that Onderdonk should be paid to the date of his suspension. Third, it urged the Standing Committee to continue to seek the performance of episcopal acts in the Diocese by the Bishops of nearby dioceses. Fourth, it asked the national General Convention to enact a canon to allow the election of an Assistant Bishop. Fifth, it addressed the issue of a resignation by Onderdonk and declared that for the Convention to request a resignation would be "beyond the competency of this body." It added that such a request would be a "violation of all the usages of similar public bodies" and further termed such a request "a want of proper dignity and self-respect." And sixth, the Committee addressed the legal status and character of Benjamin Onderdonk, stating a principle which would plague the Diocese of New York for many years. Directly challenging Evangelical Churchmen throughout the country, the report said of Onderdonk that though he was suspended, "he is yet Bishop of this Diocese, so that no other Bishop can be elected in his place." And because of this understanding, the Committee recommended continued payments to Onderdonk at a level "not more than adequate to his support." Presented on Friday, the report was not formally considered until the following Monday. Because neither Kip nor the lay delegates from St. Paul's Parish took further part in the Convention, it appears that they returned to Albany for the regular parish activities on Sunday.[4]

His efforts to establish a positive direction, and his work on the Committee of Twenty, suggest that Kip was an active and respected member of the Convention. However, it is interesting to note that nearly verbatim records of the floor debates give no indication that Kip made any speeches or remarks during the public proceedings.[5] At least one lay delegation tried to chart a course of mediation between the antagonistic extremes with regard to the position of Bishop Onderdonk. That delegation later reported that they sought the "worthy and much respected" advice of two clergy, one of whom was William Ingraham Kip.[6] Apparently Kip was indeed a much respected member of the Convention; though he seems to have functioned quietly and in some privacy.

For the next several years, William Ingraham Kip led his parish into a form of quiet, but intense parochialism. His parish ceased its regular and required contributions to the Diocesan Fund. It resumed contributions to that fund in 1850--the year in which the General Convention enacted a canon authorizing the election of an Assistant Bishop, thereby providing for the restoration of regular episcopal functioning within New York.[7] Without making public clamor, his parish simply ceased providing support for the superstructure of a diocese without a functioning bishop.

Ecclesiastical turmoil was attended with a press of personal business which made the latter portion of 1845 an extremely busy time for Kip. The family occupied a new home in Albany.[8] In addition to the demands of parish work, Kip devoted a great deal of time to the preparation of the text for his book, The Christmas Holydays in Rome. Printed and available for review in 1845, the formal publication date was in early 1846. Previous experience had schooled him in the proper methods for distributing and publicizing a book. The result was a flow of favorable reviews which promised brisk sales. The earliest review commended Kip for exercising a selectivity unusual for the time, thereby imparting " a unity otherwise likely to be lost."[9] Another reviewer spoke of Kip's comments on the Roman Catholic Church, saying the text is not "the usual one-sided view of travelers, but deals with remarkable fairness."[10] Yet another reviewer termed it "one of the best books of travels" and particularly lauded its "tolerant and comprehensive spirit." He then spoke of some defects: (1) the unnecessary use of the works of "godless poets," (2) a "confusion between the Catholic festival of All Saints, and the Romish feast of All Souls."[11] There were few negative comments, but when they occurred, they were largely directed at the issue of accuracy, a criticism which would arise occasionally throughout Kip's literary life. However, this would be a relatively minor criticism in an avalanche of praise.

Lacking its own functioning Bishop, the Diocese of New York resorted to the practice of calling on other bishops for the temporary exercise of the episcopal function within its territory. The Right Reverend Samuel A. McCoskry, of Michigan, was the first bishop so invited. On February 8, 1846, he visited St. Paul's Church, Albany, to ordain Samuel H. Norton to the diaconate; Kip presented Norton for ordination.[12]

Later in the year, historical interests were again demonstrated. Kip collected, edited and translated the missionary letters of early Jesuit missionaries among the Indians of North America; it was an interesting work which excited little public interest.[13] Also, during this period, Kip became a corresponding member of the New-York Historical Society.[14]

An August visit to Hartford, Connecticut combined business and pleasure. Of course, he visited his father and mother, who were now living on a nearby country estate. On August 5, 1846, he began the day by officiating at a Morning Prayer service preceding a diaconal ordination in St. John's Church. Later in the day he attended his brother's graduation at Trinity College. There he was awarded an honorary Master of Arts degree. Two days later, members of the College Academic Senate elected Kip one of ten persons to examine the feasibility of establishing a College-related association "for the advancement of Church Architecture."[15] So his interest in and attention to the arts and architecture of Europe were now to be put to public use on the American Church scene.

Two notable issues arose in the New York Diocesan Convention of 1846: the admission of a well-established Black congregation to the Convention; and, payments to Benjamin T. Onderdonk during the period of his suspension. Both were potentially divisive issues.

Several congregations met the formal requirements for admission to the Convention and they were admitted. The congregation of St. Philip's Church, New York City, met the requirements, but was denied admission because members of the Convention wanted to avoid social encounters with blacks. When, during the debate, it was moved to table both the discussion and the application, Kip and the lay delegates from his congregation voted to continue the debate and seek a final decision.[16] Eventually the Convention consciously chose to remain a whites-only organization. This action was in keeping with a committee report which acknowledged that Diocesan canons contained admission requirements, but said they might not be the only conditions. The report labelled the black communicants "socially degraded" who were "not proper associates for Convention delegates.".[17] We have no direct evidence as to Kip's stance, but it is likely that one used to black slaves as house servants would assume blacks should mingle in a different social set.

The debate over paying money to Onderdonk was even more explosive and difficult. When a motion to pay Onderdonk $2,500 annually was amended to deny any such support, both Kip and the lay delegates from St. Paul's voted to table the subject. By vote the discussion continued. Voting in the minority a second time, Kip agreed that the Episcopal Fund could not "rightfully be applied to aid or support, in any shape, a bishop adjudged guilty of immorality and impurity." Finally, once more in the majority, Kip voted to pay Onderdonk an unspecified annual sum subject to repayment at the order of competent authority. The lay delegates of St. Paul's concurred in that judgment.[18] The provision for repayment allowed for the possibility of future reversal by a subsequent Diocesan Convention, or the forthcoming General Convention. In the face of this volatile and divisive issue, Kip and his lay delegates from St. Paul's Parish found themselves in continual agreement. This suggests a good and stable relationship between the Rector and leadership of the parish.

William Ingraham Kip was a quiet but known supporter of Bishop Onderdonk. Many years later the Bishop of Albany spoke of the stance of Kip's parishioners, saying that they went "like a fresh pine odor and a fresh mountain breeze from the North when they came to this Convention; to stand by Bishop Onderdonk in all his trials...."[19]

The same level of support was not accorded the Diocese. While the previous year, the parish ceased contributions to the Diocesan Fund, in 1846 it withheld money from the Episcopal Fund, the Education Fund, and the Missionary Fund. A contribution was made, as in all future years, to the Aged and Infirm Clergy Fund.[20]

At the end of the year, Kip completed editorial work, and published yet another result of his European tour. Recantation is an unabashed attack on Roman Catholicism as it was practiced in Italy. Kip consciously added his affirmation of the truth of the general nature of the bitter tale told in the book.[21] Only a few brief reviews were published. One review spoke of the "anguish of spirit" occasioned by the central figure's recantation of her original Anglican faith; nonetheless, the most praiseworthy label the reviewer could muster was "a deeply interesting account."[22] In short, Recantation was not a notable literary success.

In early 1847, William Ingraham Kip proposed a bold and expansive missionary program for the Episcopal Church in Albany. Because this program was beyond the financial capacity of his small parish, he appealed to Trinity Parish, New York City, for the necessary financing. He asked for $5,000 with which to relieve much of the debt of his parish; thus relieved, St. Paul's would proceed to the establishment of a "free Church"[23] in the northern part of Albany during the next 15 months. The newly established church was to be entirely supported by St. Paul's Church. Kip further assumed that in three or four years, it would be possible to establish yet a second "free church". The need was great, he said, because vast areas of the city had large numbers of English residents who had been regular in their attendance in the Church of England, yet they had no local Episcopal church. He also pointed out that the local congregations were then unable to provide the necessary support. St. Peter's Parish, the oldest parish in Albany, provided minimal support for activities outside its own immediate parish work. His own parish was composed of "young families not able to do very much." And he himself had supported the work of the Church in the amount of $12,000 beyond his salary, by the time of his departure for Europe. So it was that the missionary endeavor which he envisioned depended upon funds from outside Albany. As he urged this request for aid from the Vestry of Trinity

Church, New York City, this proud and aristocratic man humbled himself to say "that in bringing this before you, I am pleading for thousands of the destitute."[24]

It appears that the application to Trinity Church was fruitless. Later in the year, Kip and William H. DeWitt, a leading Albany layman, began joint efforts to secure local support for a free church in the northern section of Albany. The two men sought local pledges toward the establishment of this mission. But the project was temporarily halted by a disastrous Albany fire which adversely affected the economy of the entire city.[25]

Interest in the ministry and a preference for the non-controversial influenced selection of a topic for a sermon Kip delivered at The General Theological Seminary. Titled, "The Ministry in Troublous Times," the sermon consciously "abandoned all reference to those topics of controversy which now everywhere fill the ear." Instead, he gave advice as to proper character traits for the clergy. He mentioned "independence of character" of sufficient strength to withstand pressures to accept and follow the opinions of others. Second, he noted that the "world is but an inn...in which we may not, must not dwell," and encouraged reliance on "the rewards of the future." Third, he urged self-denial. Having recounted the afflictions of St. Paul, Kip predicted clergy would experience "want, and thankless labor, sundered ties and checked affections."[26] The Pauline parallel was one he would continue to draw--and with personal reference.

His intellectual and literary achievements continued to gain recognition from academic institutions. On June 23, he was elected Sixth Vice President of the Alumni of the General Theological Seminary.[27] On July 13, Columbia College's (now University) Trustee and Treasurer, John Lawrence, nominated Kip for the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. And on July 28 that degree was conferred *in absentia*.[28]

During the summer of 1847 the Kips toured the old Northwest. Having seen the flood of immigrants passing through Albany, they effectively joined that floodtide as they travelled from Albany to Milwaukee. Observing the tired German immigrants trudging ever-westward, Kip recalled the more buoyant scene of similar people as they left Germany and descended the Rhine.[29]

In Milwaukee, the Kips visited a former New York clergyman, and Maria's brother-in-law, in whose home they met Jackson Kemper, the Bishop of that vast area which reached to its southwestern extremity at the western edge of Iowa. Kip and Kemper discussed the difficult ecclesiastical situation in the Diocese of New York. Kip expressed the opinion that virtually all the clergy of New York believed Bishop Onderdonk's position "illegal". But he also observed that only three of the clergy favored Onderdonk's resumption of office. In this regard, he spoke particularly ill of Maria's uncle (by marriage), Bishop Philander Chase of Illinois who had been among those bishops originally voting in favor of deposing Onderdonk from the ministry.[30]

Continuing westward from Milwaukee to Nashotah, the Kips were delighted by a terrain which reminded them of the great and vast parks of rural England. At Nashotah Kip was impressed by the combination of Kemper's missionary zeal and "primitive simplicity and self-denial."[31] At Nashotah he found the simple and rustic home of Bishop Kemper, as well as that semi-monastic community which was at once both an academic community with preparatory and seminary levels, and central station of missionary endeavor for a vast surrounding territory.

While a person could be admitted as a student, paying all his expenses, most were admitted as students and also sought admission to the lay brotherhood. The lay brothers conveyed all personal income to a common fund, and shared equally in the necessary work of the institution; such work included the routine maintenance and activities of providing for meals, laundry, and other housekeeping needs during the school year, as well as summer farming and harvesting activities which occurred during the academic hiatus. Membership in the brotherhood was terminated at graduation. Common funds, common work, and especially common farming, made it possible for this hardy band to survive on relatively little income and other resources. While the style of Nashotah raised some concern in Evangelical circles, the obvious necessities which created the semi-monastic quality were so well-recognized that the opposition was never strong or sustained.

Even during these early days, the seminary at Nashotah maintained a semi-monastic worship schedule. At six o'clock each morning all members of the community participated in a worship service in the chapel. With a frequency unusual for the time, the Holy Communion was celebrated every Sunday, Thursday, and on all saints days and holy days listed in the Book of Common Prayer. On other mornings, the Morning Prayer service was used. At noon daily a litany was said. At 5:00 p.m. Evening Prayer was said. More informal family-style prayers were offered at 9:00 p.m.

During 1846 the mission had 17 stations for preaching and lay-reading in the vicinity; a few of these had since been supplied with clergy newly graduated from Nashotah. However, the bulk of these stations were still supplied by the two faculty members and the 23 students of the school-mission.

Pointing to the need for additional scholarships, augmentation of the library, and funds for buildings, Kip heaped great praise on the "spirit of self-denial which forms the life and soul of Nashotah."[32] This visit established in Kip a great admiration for the persons and style of Nashotah. It created clear expectations in his mind concerning the work and results of missionary endeavors. It established impressions and opinions upon which he would call in his missionary episcopacy.

Returning to Milwaukee, the Kips then took steamers north. While impressed and humbled by the grandeur of the terrain--especially the heavy forestation--Kip seems to have devoted great time and attention to gathering historical anecdotes and observations on the Indians of the area. On Michigan's Manitou Islands, the party spent several hours in an Indian village, during which time they were able to observe the routine life in the camp. Here was no show for the few visiting tourists. They also observed Indians in the immediate vicinity of Mackinaw. Conscious of the romantic style of his writing, Kip spoke of the Indians he had seen being crowded together in filthy conditions lacking all romance.[33] His general, if simple, understanding of the Indian camps he had seen were sumamrized by observations of the Chippewa near Sault St. Marie:

> "...the lounging men, who had discharged their duties by procuring the fish--the busy squaws--the naked children--and the half-starved dogs."[34]

He obviously had no approval of the traditional Indian social and cultural styles.

Kip believed the Church had a missionary responsibility with reference to the Indian. He discovered the Indians to be people of principle and honor. He expressed sorrow that burial places, sacred to the Indians, were often transgressed by white men--especially the English. He was surprised that local white men trusted local Indians with transportation of the meals and free access to their homes; he was firmly told that the Indians had never been known to steal anything. Strenuous efforts notwithstanding, Baptist and Methodist missionaries found their spartan Protestant worship unattractive to local Indians. However, the ceremony of Roman Catholic and Anglican worship seemed to attract the Indian worshiper. As a result Kip affirmed the necessity for continued and increased missions directed toward the Indian population of the region.[35]

During the course of this trip, Kip visited missionaries and became their supporter, visited Indians and encouraged missions to them, viewed terrain and became enthralled by its beauty. Nonetheless, he remained the eastern aristocrat, dependent on the comforts of his urban habitat. He wrote of "a wilderness of woods and waters, where nature is silent and grand--no trace of social life..." Yet the discomfort within forced him to label the environment "strange" and also "oppressive."[36]

Some months later, back in New York, he attended the Diocesan Convention in which the issues were submerged, and no significant action was taken for the future of this Diocese _sans_ functioning bishop.[37] He took no active role in the little business which was conducted, and was perhaps happy that conflict had been avoided.

Later the same month the Kips visited Hartford. There, in a morning service, which lasted into mid-afternoon, the

Kips saw a brother-in-law consecrated Bishop of Maine.[38]

Following the Consecration of George Burgess, Maria Ingraham Kip (i.e,, Mrs. Leonard Kip, Senior), and her daughter Mary, departed for Albany with Maria's son, William Ingraham Kip. The death of the senior Leonard Kip made it possible for Maria and Mary to plan an extended visit. Because they intended to stay through the winter, he made arrangements for them to reside in the same huge boarding house in which his family lived. So clustered together among the 35 boarders were William Ingraham Kip and his immediate family, plus his brother Leonard, his mother, Maria, and his sister, Mary.[39]

During the period of his mother's residence in Albany, William Ingraham Kip sought to re-unite--in his family's hands--both Vanderlyn's painting of Marius and the gold medal it had been awarded by Napoleon. In September 1847, he enlisted the assistance of George Burgess to locate and secure the medal.[40] By patient searching, Kip located an intermediary who knew the whereabouts of the medal. Through the intermediary, he discovered that the medal was held as collateral against a private loan made to Vanderlyn while he was still working in Paris. So he wrote Vanderlyn asking permission to satisfy the debts held by the unknown lender, thereby gaining possession of the medal himself; this would, at least temporarily, accomplish the reunion in Kip family hands. Yet it would allow for the possibility that Vanderlyn would repay the loan amount and redeem the medal. Several weeks later the necessary arrangements were completed, and Kip secured possession of the medal. Meanwhile the painting was on loan to be displayed throughout 1848 in the Albany Gallery of Fine Arts. Kip expected to have the painting subsequently displayed in either New York, Boston, or Philadelphia.[41]

It was a busy literary year for William Ingraham Kip. The American Literary Magazine published three articles on his Italian travels.[42] Because of these travels and his publications concerning the same, he was asked to prepare a review of Charles Maitland's The Church in the Catacombs. After a brief history of researches on the catacombs, Kip scored Maitland for demonstrating "little enthusiasm for his subject," and for having made "so little of his theme." Having quickly dispensed with the book and author, he moved to fill the void. He described the catacombs in graphic terms, also giving their history. He then selected examples of inscriptions which he used to demonstrate the doctrinal nature of the "primitive Church." Included in the latter was a brief summary of the symbols located in the catacombs.[43] This reaction to Maitland's work--the only available English language survey of the catacombs with any potential popular appeal--suggests reasons underlying his subsequent work on and publication of, his own book on the subject. At the request of Jonathan M. Wainwright, of Trinity Parish, New York City, and subsequent Provisional Bishop of New York, Kip wrote a brief chapter on Judith, the Biblical figure. The larger edited work, of which Kip's piece was but a minor part, seems to have been intended for brief and immediate use, rather than as an enduring and polished work.[44] So, it was a year filled with numerous and diverse literary pursuits.

The 1848 Diocesan Convention was the first Kip did not attend since he had established ecclesiastical residence. Even his European tour was arranged to begin after one convention and end prior to the subsequent convention. Absence allowed Kip to avoid the extremely thorny issue of whether of not to continue the stipend to Bishop Onderdonk. Yet his absence did not prevent one clergy delegate from voting for Kip's placement on the Diocesan Missionary Committee, thereby making him one of the 22 also-rans in the balloting. Nor did it prevent his election as a Diocesan member of the Board of Trustees of the General Theological Seminary.[45] The lack of participation does seem to have insulated St. Paul's Parish from the storm and controversies abroad in the Diocese.

Much of the latter part of 1848 and the early part of 1849 were consumed in preparation for the construction and utilization of the new free church in northern Albany. In concert with William H. DeWitt, Kip sought to raise sufficient funds to bring the project to fruition. During this time of search and struggle, DeWitt donated two adjoining lots suitable for construction of the church. When the local fire made it impossible to raise the necessary funds, DeWitt also contributed the funds necessary to erect the building.[46] Construction began on May 13, and Kip immediately wrote Maryland's Bishop Whittingham, his one-time mentor and long-time friend, requesting that during the latter's exercise of the episcopal function in the Diocese of New York, he come to Albany for a ceremonial corner stone laying at the new church.[47] On June 7, Bishop Whittingham, in the presence of several clergy, officiated at the corner stone laying at the Church of the Holy Innocents, "a free chapel of ease of St. Paul's Church, Albany."[48]

Because of Whittingham's recent illness and continuing arduous schedule, and because the service was outdoors, Kip delivered the address. In the complimentary style of the day, it was reported that the address was delivered "in his usually impressive and appropriate manner," and that during its twenty minutes' compass, Kip "commanded the almost breathless attention of the entire audience."[49] Construction continued and the building was soon ready for use. On February 3, 1850 the first services were held in the building, and Holy Communion was celebrated there on February 17. DeWitt, the donor, conveyed by perpetual lease all furniture, buildings, and property to the local corporate Church congregation. It was stipulated that the property should always be used for the Episcopal Church, with free seating, and reserving to the donor and his heirs the right of nomination to the Rectorship.[50] Thus, what had begun as a chapel under the sponsorship and supervision of St. Paul's Parish had now become an independent parish with great and unusual powers in the hands of a single layman. Trouble soon developed.

The building was to have been consecrated in July, 1850, but the illness of Bishop Whittingham and the formal protest of three priests prevented the consecration service from being conducted. Having protested the contents of the stipulations, Kip forced an alteration in those provisions before withdrawing his protest. The result was a limitation on the right to nominate the rectorship and deletion of the descent of the right of nomination to DeWitt's heirs. Though later regretting the accommodation as a compromise on principles of good Church governance, Kip withdrew his protest and the consecration was performed on September 3.[51]

Yet 1849 represented parochial growth in more than progress toward the realization of Kip's missionary strategy. During his June visitation, Bishop Whittingham had confirmed 36 persons at St. Paul's.[52] Thus, the parish continued to grow numerically.

At the annual Diocesan Convention, William Ingraham Kip again demonstrated his desire to avoid conflict. In no hurry to join the conflict, he arrived one day late. It was moved that the Convention "affectionately beg the Right Rev. Bishop Onderdonk to resign." With clergy voting against the motion at the rate of 3 to 1,the trend must have been readily apparent; however, Kip did not choose to vote on the matter. Since the sentence of suspension had been passed on Onderdonk, the General Convention had enacted a canonical provision requiring that henceforth the duration of any such sentence be specified-- as it had not been in this case. So the Convention resolved to seek relief by securing a termination date for the suspension of Bishop Onderdonk. The Convention minority quickly sought to have its written protest received and entered in the Journal. When the matter came to a vote, Kip again avoided being counted.[53] The previous year he had avoided thorny issues by his absence, and this year he avoided them by failing to vote.

During the latter part of 1849, Kip was again busily engaged in writing. He contributed a chapter on St. Mary the Virgin to an edited work on the lives of notable women. Included was a discussion of Mary's role in the historical development of the devotional life of the Church. One reviewer said that Kip demonstrated a shift "from the sacred love and awe of the early church to the idolatrous worhip of later days."[54] Again Kip demonstrated his High Church principles in action as he sought to establish a path between "Romish practice" and the style of "Ultra-Protestantism". During the same time Kip was also at work on the text of his book, The Early Conflicts of Christianity, which he finished in December.[55]

The structural model of this work appears to be that used earlier in his Double Witness of the Church. While academic in content, it is popular in style. The five principal sections focus on various systems of thought and the nature, basis and history of their conflict with the thought of the early Church. As a result, each has the quality of a thematic lecture, imparting the quality of a collection of lectures to the whole.[56] The subjects discussed are: Judaism, Grecian philosophy, licentious spirit, barbarism, and pagan mythology. Kip's discussion of the conflict with Judaism focuses on the Law and the rituals of worship, demonstrating that when historical events made the traditional ritualism impossible, especially Temple worship, Christianity was nonetheless able to continue its worship unabated. He scored the inability of Grecian philosophers to deal concretely with the reality of another world, as compared with a Christianity which accepted and used much of Grecian philosophy and yet had the additional factor of clear notions and understandings of a world beyond human, temporal experience. The discussion of licentiousness used Corinth as the archetypical example and contrasted this with the ultimate development of Franciscan poverty. The discussion of the conflict with barbarism is an exercise in geographic triumphalism dependent on the recitation of legends and stories regarding Apostolic preaching missions and a brief recitation of the conflict between the Church and barbarians in western Europe. This is the most rambling and least convincing chapter in the book. Finally, a contrast is drawn between Christian monotheism and the Roman polytheism with Kip emphasizing the strength and durability of the message of pagan polytheism. This well written work is free of denominationalism and narrow partisanship.

This book was as well received as were Kip's other works. One early review predicted "the book will be popular, as it deserves to be."[57] Another Anglican reviewer could heap only the highest praise on the work, terming it a "delightful and earnest volume, displaying research and erudition, joined to the author's well known literary taste." Further, he termed the book an "excellent and well-written résumé." After an extended interpretive summary adding and dwelling at length on the presence of martyrs during the period covered by Kip's work, the reviewer praised all books "calling us to contemplate the spirit and the deeds of our forefathers in the earliest and purest age of our Faith."[58] The latter comment suggests the degree to which this book emerged from that High Church stream which sought continued reference to the "primitive Church."

Somewhat more critical reviews appeared in the non-Anglican press. A Methodist reviewer termed the book "admirably conceived," and called the author "wise" for admitting the great dependence he had on the many authors cited.[59] Another reviewer spoke of Kip's "vivid portraiture" and commended his ability "to look at every object with the eye of an artist." After extended examples of the pictorial ability, drawn from the book, the reviewer decried Kip's "many inaccuracies and even inelegancies of style." By the latter, he meant the use of "every" rather than "each," and occasional redundancies such as "the highest culminating point," which suggest that the portions were written hurriedly and under the pressure of other business. Nonetheless, the reviewer commended the book to his readers.[60] There was a Baptist writer who took great umbrage at Kip's prefatory comment that in England alone true Catholic principles had been maintained. This statement was considered so serious a matter of bias as improperly to warp the contents and style of the body of the work itself.[61]

In early 1850 Kip was drawn to the fringes of a Churchmanship battle rising in North Carolina. In 1844 Levi Silliman Ives, Bishop of North Carolina, established a semi-monastic community somewhat resembling that at Nashotah. What Bishop Kemper approached pragmatically in Wisconsin, Bishop Ives pursued theologically in North Carolina. While Kemper was known for arduous and extended visitations around his vast terrain, Ives was more widely known for involvement in theological controversy. As regards Churchmanship, Kemper had a moderate reputation, while Ives had that of an extreme High Churchman. As a result, Kemper's community at Nashotah was viewed with less suspicion than was Ives' community at Valle Crucis. So rumors began to circulate and be embroidered with reference to the community in North Carolina. In 1849, a Diocesan Commission reported to the Convention of the Diocese of North

Carolina that all was well at Valle Crucis.[62] Yet rumors continued to circulate, and the most threatening for the Church as a whole was the rumor that Ives had instituted a widespread religious order within the American Church. Responding to an inquiry of the Reverend Dr. Francis L. Hawks, Kip reported the persistence of a story making the rounds in Connecticut. According to the rumor, a secretive Order of the Holy Cross had been organized by Bishop Ives,[63] and a young deacon-member canonically resident in Connecticut had refused a parochial placement by Bishop Brownell of Connecticut because he was in need of consultation with Bishop Ives before accepting. Kip verified only the existence of the rumor, and added, "of its truth, however, I had no means of knowing."[64] In a private note Kip named the author of an anonymous article on the rumored religious order, and one man from whom Kip secured the rumor. This, of course, gave Hawks the opportunity for seeking additional information on the matter.[65] This gathering and clarification of data concerning Bishop Ives and his activities was an essential one for the stability of the High Churchmen of the nation. Both Evangelical and High Church parties combined to pressure Bishop Ives into making a clear statement of his theological and functional principles to the 1850 Convention of the Diocese of North Carolina.[66]

Having lived for a considerable length of time in a large boarding house,[67] the Kips moved into their own home in 1850. The family began looking for suitable housing in early 1849.[68] It was the beginning of March, 1850 before William Ingraham expected to transfer the family's residence.[69] The new home[70] was occupied by William and Maria, their son, Lawrence, William's brother, Leonard, and the family's two female Irish servants.[71] In the face of a general warfare over Churchmanship, missionary struggles in such areas as Wisconsin, and the instability of the Church in the far West, the Kip family decided on permanence in Albany.

From his Albany vantage point, Kip's attentions were still focused within the Diocese of New York. The opening session of the 1850 Diocesan Convention received an application for admission to the Convention from the Church of the Holy Innocents, Albany. The mission which Kip had initiated, and over which he had suffered such grief, was now prepared to take its full parochial responsibilities in the affairs of the Diocese. In what may have been yet another example of Kip's proclivity for physically avoiding conflict situations, he failed to attend that opening session. Though he arrived one day late, imperfections in the required certificates from the Church of the Holy Innocents necessitated a delay in the decision on admission. After Kip arrived, the parish was denied admission.[72] This was yet another Convention in which Kip took no active role.

Shortly after the close of the regular Convention, a special Convention was held for the purpose of electing a a Provisional Bishop to provide the episcopal oversight still denied the Diocese on a regular basis because of the continuing suspension of Bishop Onderdonk. When one faction decided to terminate the business of that special convention, both Kip and his lay delegates joined the majority to reject this parliamentary ploy. By the sixth ballot there was a deadlock between the Reverend John Williams, of Connecticut and the Right Reverend Horatio Southgate. The two groups held caucus meetings to discuss strategy. Kip allied himself with supporters of John Williams and was selected to preside at the caucus. Thus, he had become a prominent "political" figure in the Diocese.[73] On the seventh ballot, Southgate's name was withdrawn and replaced by that of the Reverend William Creighton of New York. Creighton, on the seventh ballot received--*de novo* and *en masse*--all lay votes and all but one clergy vote which had previously gone to Southgate. It was apparent that the deadlock continued and would not be broken. As a result, Kip and the lay delegates from St. Paul's joined the majority in resolving to adjourn the Special Convention.[74] The partisanship continued.

By continuing to publish works infused with High Church principles, and devoid of outright partisanship and controversy, Kip continued to build a widespread, favorable reputation. His works continued to be reprinted in edition after edition. As a result of his historical publications, and the substantial reputation which they earned him, Kip was selected as a member of the Executive Committee of the newly organized Protestant Episcopal Historical Society.[75] Yet, in such partisan times no man escapes without attack. On one occasion Bishop Jackson Kemper, whom Kip had visited several years previously at Nashotah, and whose work Kip consistently supported, wrote of Kip's "lightest writings." He suggested that Kip might be a member of a "clique who are determined to write up each other, and attack all outside barbarians."[76]

While avoiding open conflict, Kip did not abandon his High Church principles or associations. He sought and received the opinion of his friend and mentor, Bishop Whittingham of Maryland, regarding the reconfirmation of persons originally confirmed in the Roman Catholic Church.[77] He continued his correspondence with Elizabeth Sewell, whose brother, William, was actively involved with the Oxford Movement.[78]

In Albany, William DeWitt, Senior Warden of the Church of the Holy Innocents, continued to attack Kip for his role in delaying the consecration of that Church. Having endured virulent attack for an extended period, Kip expressed the opinion "it is time some quietness should be put upon him." So, Kip asked Bishop Whittingham to write a brief letter approving Kip's protest to the originally scheduled consecration of the Church, and confirming that DeWitt had been forced to make alterations in the deed. Kip was also inclined to take the drastic step of suggesting that the Rector of the Church of the Holy Innocents bar DeWitt from the Holy Communion until such time as he had made proper amends for the slander against

Kip; on this matter he also sought Whittingham's opinion.[79] Though Kip generally avoided conflict, there were points beyond which he would not go. When he reached his limit, Kip was prepared to use drastic measures to accomplish his ends.

Because the partisan deadlock at the Special Convention of 1850 made it impossible for the Diocese to select a Provisional Bishop, it fell to the regular Diocesan Convention of 1851 to renew the effort. On the first ballot, Kip received two votes for the Provisional Bishopric among a field of sixteen persons receiving votes from clergy delegates; he received no lay votes. On the third ballot, he received thirteen clerical and three lay votes; this was his highest vote total. On the sixth and seventh ballots, his name had disappeared. When on the eighth ballot William Creighton was elected Provisional Bishop, Kip received three clerical votes of protest. Though Creighton's required testimonial of election was signed the same day at the Convention, Kip failed to sign it.[80] Because he permitted his candidacy to continue for five ballots, we can infer that Kip desired election as Provisional Bishop of New York.

As an observer in that political classroom which was Albany, Kip learned his lessons well. When he was informed of a projected publication, the contents of which he considered libelous, Kip chose to apply judicious leverage to prevent the publication of those comments. He might have directed his angry comments to the author of the piece, the Reverend Jubal Hodges. Instead, he sent a letter, requesting a copy of the impending publication, to Mr. Thomas Stanford, a prominent layman and mutual acquaintance of Hodges and Kip. Having never met Hodges, nor having any knowledge of him, Kip nonetheless warned Stanford that he would hold Hodges "to the strictest accountability both in the Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts."[81] The matter was of sufficient gravity that Stanford replied the following day, protesting his own innocence in the matter. Kip at once reassured Stanford, and through him applied even greater pressure to Hodges. Threatening to make a public example of Hodges should the piece appear in print, he mentioned having already written to, and alerted, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Diocese concerning the brewing conflict.[82] Kip also informed Stanford that St. Paul's boasted the "largest congregation in this State, out of the City of New York, including in it the Governor and a large number of leading men." He added that even should he withdraw his own complaints, if the publication came to the hands of his Vestry they would "prosecute the author to the extent of the law." It appears that the heart of the matter concerned the Parish's use of a former theater as a place of worship, and the general style of services.[83] It would seem, therefore, to be a partisan attack on the basis of a difference in Churchmanship. Though Kip had consistently avoided conflict on this basis, the raging differences sought him out and demanded his reaction. There was no trial and the matter appears to have ended quietly at this point.

Death took three members of the Kip family in quick succession. On December 21, 1851 brother-in-law John Innes Kane died in Sicily. After several years in Europe, Kane had returned to the United States in 1843 nearly persuaded to join the Roman Catholic Church. This plunged both him and Kip into joint study and discussion in order "to separate Catholic truths from Romish errors."[84] The knowledge Kip gained in this endeavor was invaluable in his successive literary work. On May 11, 1852 Mary Kip Kane died in the home of her brother-in-law, the Reverend Dr. Henry L. Storrs at Yonkers, New York. As Mary's death approached, the family gathered and William Ingraham Kip gave his sister her last Communion. Her brother-in-law, Bishop Burgess of Maine, arrived some three hours after her death.[85] Five days later Kip's brother-in-law, Dr. Storrs, also died. Though he had been ill for some time, during which time he nonetheless cared for Mary, death was not anticipated and came as a great and sudden shock for both family and parish.[86]

After being elected Provisional Bishop of the Diocese of New York, William Creighton died even before his consecration. As a result, the annual Diocesan Convention faced the seemingly perennial task of electing a Provisional Bishop at its sitting of 1852. Again, William Ingraham Kip's name appeared on the first ballot, this time receiving thirteen clergy votes and five lay votes. As one of the ten candidates on the fourth ballot, Kip reached his high vote count, receiving twenty-seven clerical votes and nineteen lay votes.

and on the eighth ballot Kip was in third place with seventeen clergy votes and thirteen lay votes; it appears that those votes represented the balance of power in the Convention.[87] At that point Kip personally withdrew his name and urged his friends to support one of the other candidates.[88] On the ninth ballot, Kip's good friend Jonathan M. Wainwright was elected Provisional Bishop. The previous year Kip had failed to sign the election testimonial for William Creighton, but this time he chose to add his name to the testimonial for this friend and Bishop-elect.[89]

Throughout this period, Kip continued to be known for his cultural interests and achievements. He gently rejected an offer for the purchase of Vanderlyn's painting of Marius, adding the note that he had refused a public gallery's offer of $3,000 for the painting in 1844.[90] So, while owned by the Kip family and on loan for public display, the monetary value of the painting had increased markedly. During 1852, William Ingraham Kip also became a member of the Albany Institute of History and Art. This membership he continued during his residence in California.[91] With equal dependence on Chaucer[92] and his own descriptive literary abilities, Kip contributed a chapter on St. Cecilia to an edited book on Christian women. As he prepared to recount the tale, the historian in him forced him to provide the gentle disclaimer: "...it is impossible to separate historic truth from poetic fiction."[93]

Meanwhile, St. Paul's Parish continued stable and growing in the face of tumult and turmoil around the Diocese. Its rolls had grown to more than 1,000 persons and the demand for pews could not be satisfied.[94] Its membership included the Governor and other New York State luminaries.[95] So, it was no great surprise when Kip presented the rather large group of 55 persons to be confirmed by the newly consecrated Bishop Wainwright.[96]

While his own parish continued on its peaceful path, the general conflict over Churchmanship continued to trouble Kip. George Washington Doane, his friend and former Bishop, had been under attack for a considerable length of time. As early as 1849, a resolution was submitted to the Convention of the Diocese of New Jersey calling for an investigation of Bishop Doane's handling of various funds. Though that move was defeated, the attack did not stop. A later investigation disclosed that Bishop Doane had juggled money from one fund to another. Though this was done with the best of intentions, he was formally guilty of the misuse of funds. He publicly confessed the errors to the Diocesan Convention which subsequently refused to take action against him. So, in 1852 three Evangelical Bishops presented charges in the ecclesiastical trial of Bishop Doane.[97] Writing to Bishop Whittingham, Kip expressed admiration for Doane's "warmhearted" mood. He expressed the opinion that Bishop Whittingham could be of great influence in disposing of the charges against Doane.[98] A few weeks later the trial court met and recessed without pursuing the matter further. Kip expressed his great happiness to both Doane and Whittingham.[99] Thus, as the conflict continued over the years, Kip privately became more intimately and personally associated with the national leadership of the High Church party.

For some time William Ingraham Kip had been inclined to leave St. Paul's Parish. In August, 1851, he expressed ambivalent feelings about leaving Albany. On the one hand, residing in Baltimore would make the College of St. James accessible for his son Lawrence's education. On the other hand, he expressed great pleasure in his own parish situation.[100] Later he specifically considered moving to St. Peter's Church, Baltimore, or to San Francisco. As consideration of these alternatives proceeded, Bishop Whittingham suddenly suggested that Kip should indeed go to San Francisco, not as a presbyter, but rather as a Bishop.[101]

Whittingham appears to have pursued the subject with others because during mid-1853 Kip received the approving comments of several bishops regarding his being sent to California. He was even told that Presiding Bishop Thomas Brownell intended to place his prestige behind the matter and nominate Kip for the Missionary Bishopric which had yet to be created.[102] So, in a unique way, Kip began turning his attention to the situation in California.

Events in California had attracted the attention of Easterners for several years. In January, 1848 gold had been discovered at Sutter's mill at Coloma; by mid-May, the stampede to find gold had begun. And in mid-June, Colonel R. B. Mason, American military Governor of California, went to the Sierras to investigate the situation. As earlier rumors now became credible, whole towns and cities were deserted. Colonel Mason's official report to the War Department was reinforced by informal accounts reaching the East Coast. In a December, 1848 message to Congress, President James Knox Polk authenticated reports of the gold find; at the same time he placed gold samples from California on public display.[103] In a few short weeks, the fabled Gold Rush of 1849 had begun.

In Mid-1848, and in the midst of this tumultuous situation, six Episcopal laymen met in San Francisco and prepared a petition to the General Board of Missions in New York requesting the appointment of a missionary for San Francisco. There was neither a diocese nor a parish to cover this newly acquired American territory, and so this group needed an official means for quickly securing a parish priest; their need was for a minister, not for the financial support of the Board of Missions. Two men sought the appointment to California: the Reverend Dr. Jean Leonard Ver Mehr,[104] and the Reverend Flavel S. Mines. As the Board's decision-making process proceeded, the two even met at the Board offices. In microcosm, the Churchmanship conflict was embodied; Ver Mehr, the Evangelical and Mines,the High Churchman. In October, 1848, the

Board designated Ver Mehr as its missionary, effective November 1.[105] He decided to accept the post in California without asking the advice or consent of his own bishop. As it turned out, he went west against the unsolicited advice of his bishop.[106] So, the designated missionary to San Francisco was viewed in some circles as a recalcitrant man.

Meanwhile, other San Francisco Anglicans arranged with friends in New York to secure a parish priest for San Francisco. They selected Reverend Flavel S. Mines and arranged his passage across the Isthmus of Panama, and on to San Francisco. A sudden and extended illness delayed the departure of Ver Mehr and his family until early February. Their passage took them around Cape Horn. Mines arrived and took charge of the newly organized Trinity Church. The arrival of the Ver Mehr family, several months later, created great consternation. Mines was the incumbent of Trinity Parish, yet Ver Mehr was the officially appointed missionary for whom some of them had appealed, and to whom they had promised support and allegiance. Because San Francisco was merely a point of debarkation for those rushing to the Mother Lode country, and a large number of permanent residents of San Francisco were criminally inclined and preyed on the gold seekers,[107] it was doubted that the few honest permanent residents could support two Episcopal clergy. Yet integrity compelled those who had applied to the Board of Missions to provide for the man who was sent at their request;

the result was the establishment of a second parish, Grace Church, under the rectorship of Dr. Ver Mehr.[108]

The floodtide of people from the east moving to California created great interest among easterners for any tidbit of information about California. This was as true in the religious press as in the secular press. As a result, these events in San Francisco were well known throughout Episcopal circles. As was the style of the time, items in one publication were often reprinted with credit in a variety of other publications. Private letters were printed; others were circulated from hand to hand, resulting in the circulation of information with limited or more private interest. So even this early, a sense of concern for the stability of the Church in California began to develop.

On June 19, 1850 the national Board of Missions received the report of its Domestic Missions Committee reporting that "the Mission to California has accomplished all that the Committee could expect." It added that "Aid of a pecuniary nature is not needed by them."[109] Thus, the Church in California was left to its own devices.

In the East, it was rumored both that the Right Reverend Horatio Southgate, Missionary Bishop at Constantinople, would resign his jurisdiction, and that the Church in California would seek to organize itself as a separate diocese and offer Southgate the Bishopric. The organizing Convention of the

Diocese of California began the evening of July 24, 1850 with both Flavel Mines and Jean Ver Mehr feeling as though they were ecclesiastical cast-offs in the eyes of the eastern Establishment. In that mood, they sat as members of a Committee on Constitution and Canons which wrote a Diocesan Constitution which "dropped the name of 'Protestant Episcopal'" from its preamble.[110] The Convention proceeded to elect a bishop and Horatio Southgate was elected. The Reverend Flavel Mines was appointed to notify Southgate of his election.[111] Dr. Ver Mehr wrote Southgate an informal letter urging him to accept the office.[112] Even before the offer was tendered, Southgate made the irrevocable decision to decline such an offer. This decision was provoked by personal doubts about his qualifications for work in California, and the belief that the episcopate should be tendered to one of the resident pioneer clergy. He expressed this opinion with several prominent High Church Bishops in the knowledge that his name had been mentioned for the California episcopate.[113] After Southgate firmly declined the position, Flavel Mines suggested that the Diocese secure the episcopacy in Apostolic Succession through the Russian Orthodox Church and its resident bishop in Alaska.[114] In later years, Kip affirmed that the founding clergy "intended secession."[115]

East Coast Church leaders came to view the Church in California as rebellious and out of control. Ver Mehr had come without permission of his diocesan bishop, while Mines had come without the permission of the Missions Committee. The Diocesan Convention had tried to circumvent the General Convention in securing the historic episcopacy, and when that failed there were rumors of a desire to seek the episcopacy from the Russian Church. And there was the clear omission of any memtion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Constitution of the newly formed Diocese.

Returning to New York City, Flavel Mines freely expressed opinions which only increased the fears of Church leaders in the East. He affirmed the validity of Southgate's election because it came from a diocese not in union with the General Convention. He also envisioned an independent pan-Pacific Church which would join Asia and the Pacific Coast of North America in the same reformed Catholic faith.[116]

When the General Convention of 1850 met there was neither lay nor clergy representation from the Diocese of California. Since it had been possible for Mines to return to the East Coast seeking a bishop, it would have been equally possible for representation to attend the General Convention. Thus, by omission, there was evidence that the Church in California was in ecclesiastical rebellion.

At the Second Triennial Convention of the Diocese of California, held in 1853, the situation was notably different from that at the 1850 organizing Convention of the Diocese. Flavel Mines was dead and with his death the rivalry with Ver Mehr was ended. Signaling an intended relationship with the General Convention and the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Convention elected four lay delegates to the 1853 General Convention.[117] Another sign that the Diocese of California desired to be a part of the Episcopal Church was that a committee of the Convention was appointed to secure an episcopal visitation of the Diocese by bishops of the Episcopal Church. Further, that committee appealed to the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions for financial help in securing the projected episcopal Visitation.[118]

However, decisions regarding California were not yet made, nor was the matter of Kip's possible election widely known. So, the would-be bishop had to continue parochial and other business as usual. At the New York Diocesan Convention, a long-dormant issue was raised; the Convention was no longer debilitated by the need, and yet inability, to elect a Provisional Bishop.

Many years earlier St. Philip's Church, New York City's Black Episcopal congregation, had applied for admission to the Convention. This year the application was renewed. When the matter came for a vote, Kip voted affirmatively, with the substantial majority of the clergy votes (140 to 13). On the other hand, the lay delegates from St. Paul's voted negatively in the minority (70 parishes to 33 parishes, with 5 divided parishes).[119]

It is significant that only as Kip was actively preparing to leave Albany, and in recognition that the Bishopric of of California would thrust him into the turmoil of a turbulent Diocesan situation and into the midst of the continuing national Churchmanship battles in the House of Bishops, that he--for the first time--voted in a way different from the lay delegates from his parish. The issue here was quite divisive for the Convention, and had been smoldering for a long time. Whereas in earlier years, Kip's practice had been to avoid confrontation and decision in times of conflict, now he stood forthrightly and took a stand. The next day he was elected to the Standing Committee of New York--the first elective position accorded him by the Convention.[120]

The long-standing practice had been to submit annual parochial reports to the Bishop. Since there had been an extended period without an active and functioning bishop, it was generally considered inappropriate to prepare and submit a parochial report. As a result, many years had gone by without parochial reports being presented to the Bishop, and published as an appendix to the Journal of the annual Conventions. Because the Convention of 1853 was presided over by the duly elected Provisional Bishop of New York, Jonathan Wainright, annual parochial reports were once again submitted and published. Kip reported a communicant membership of about 250, 58 of whom had been confirmed during the previous year. He also reported a grand total of about 1,200 souls in the Parish. It was a congregation heavily weighted with young people, four-fifths of whom had joined the Episcopal Church from the various other denominations. The Parish had recently resumed contributions to the Episcopal Fund, and during the previous year had contributed a total of more than $1,100 to the several Diocesan benevolences. During the previous seven years, the Parish had also liquidated more than $13,000 in debts. Kip also reported with "much pleasure" that during his tenure, four members of the parish had entered the ministry, a fifth expected to be ordained in June of 1854, and a sixth was just commencing studies.[121] These signs suggest the Parish was stable, growing and generous.

By refusing to seat the lay delegates from California, the General Convention effectively decided there was no organized diocese in California.[122] As a result, it was considered legitimate for the House of Bishops to elect, and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies to approve, a Missionary Bishop for California. Kip was nominated by Jonathan Wainwright, his old friend and Provisional Bishop of New York. Of course, his friend and mentor, Bishop Whittingham supported the nomination. And Kip was later notably grateful for the active support of Bishop Kemper. The confidential discussion which took place in the House of Bishops was both extended and detailed, paying particular attention to the family background of both William Ingraham Kip and Maria Lawrence Kip, and Kip's Churchmanship.[123] Ultimately, the House of Bishops elected William Ingraham Kip as Missionary Bishop of California.

With the General Convention ending, and the Bishops dispersing to their dioceses, there was little time to prepare and plan for Kip's consecration. So, on October 28--the Festival of Sts. Simon and Jude--William Ingraham Kip was consecrated Missionary Bishop of California in Trinity Church, New York City. Bishop Jackson Kemper, the first Missionary Bishop of the Episcopal Church, was the senior bishop present, and therefore designated as the chief consecrator. Since Kemper was the first Missionary Bishop, his involvement emphasized the missionary character of the Bishopric to which Kip had been elected. Kip's good friend, Bishop Wainwright, read the Ante-communion. Bishop George Burgess, Kip's brother-in-law preached a sermon which emphasized the great self-sacrifice required for service in California. He particularly emphasized the arduous nature of service as Bishop in that diverse and troubled State, filled with "thirst for gold, impatience of restraint, the vices of adventures, and all the ills of unavoidable lawlessness." Not content with the desire that Kip endure the difficulties, he added the expectation that Kip transform the situation in a way which would make San Francisco "a city set on a hill as a light to the world."[124] Kip was to be sent forth with great expectations.

Participating Bishops included William J. Boone, Missionary Bishop in China, Alfred Lee, of Delaware, George Freeman Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory, George Upfold, of Indiana, and Henry Whitehouse of Illinois. Other participants included Archdeacon Trew of Nassau, in the Bahamas, and the Reverend Mr. Edmund Hobhouse, of Merton College, Oxford, England. As the Service began, the area was beset by rain and storm clouds, but as the service proceeded, the clouds lifted and the sun lighted the chancel of Trinity Church. Accounts of the consecration repeated this information, suggesting this was a sign of good things for the future of the Church in California.[125]

Immediately after his consecration, Kip began the extended process of departure. Returning to Albany, Kip began the dual process of severing the pastoral relationship with the many people with whom he had been associated for so long. Even before the consecration, one local newspaper noted that his parishioners would find the separation very difficult.[126] After the packing of household goods was well under way, and passage to California engaged, the Domestic Missions Committee agreed to provide a $3,000 annual salary, against which Kip rather quickly drew $1,000 to pay outstanding expenses.[127] On December 13, the vestry of St. Paul's accepted Kip's formal resignation as Rector, and expressed its "unfeigned regret". They noted that the now prosperous congregation was, when Kip assumed the rectorship,"feeble and under various discouraging circumstances."[128]

It was also necessary to take leave of friends and well-wishers in New York City. On December 18, he returned to Trinity Church, where he assisted at the ordination of two deacons and three priests. In his sermon, Kip dwelt at length on the temptations of ordained ministers turning to and acceptinging worldly standards; he concluded by affirming that perserverence in faith brought noble rewards.[129] The following day, while suffering from "fatigue and indisposition," Kip attended a missionary meeting at St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City. There he spoke of the vastness of his new missionary charge, and the great challenges which faced the Church in its work there. He urged his listeners to action in support of this grand missionary endeavor.[130] So, the process of leave-taking was diverse and extended.

Throughout 1853, Kip was at work on yet another book resulting from his European trip of 1844 and 1845. The book was nearly ready for the printer at the end of August. However, as events pressed in upon him more rapidly, and his time was in greater demand, it became increasingly difficult for him to complete the work. As a result, the final touches were not completed until Advent of 1853. Arrangements for publication were made prior to the family's departure for California, though actual publication did not take place until early 1854.[131]

Titled, The Catacombs of Rome, the work begins with a discussion of access to and the general nature of, the catacombs. Next follows a brief summary of their history and origins. There follows a more detailed description of the catacombs with particular reference to the development and uses of Christian portions. Sample inscriptions are displayed and their theological implications are discussed. While discussing early Christian martyrs and the use of symbols in the catacombs, Kip continued to dwell on the theological aspects of both subjects. Next, he shares information on and understanding of, ministry and worship in the early Church. Finally there is a section comparing and contrasting Rome of the mid-Nineteenth Century with the Rome and the Christians of about A.D. 300. Though an admirer of many aspects of the Roman Catholic Church, Kip was still interested in demonstrating the "errors of Romanism." In that endeavor, the book was successful, as one reviewer noted that it demonstrated "decisively that modern Rome claims for itself what the early Roman Christians knew nothing of."[132] Another reviewer noted Kip's intention to make information about the catacombs more widely known and said the "praiseworthy purpose is excellently carried out."[133]

On his 1845 return from the European trip, Kip found the Diocese in great turmoil and deprived of its leader. This created great tensions throughout the Diocese and within most parishes. As a result, he devoted himself to the work of his own parish, seeking to eliminate internal tensions and factionalism, and avoiding participation in the factionalism of the Diocese. The result was that what had been a struggling and unstable parish became a stable and notable parish. As a result of the parish situation, and his voluminous publishing activities, William Ingraham Kip's reputation was favorable, and on the rise. He was twice a serious candidate for the Provisional Bishopric of New York, and failing election, was still able to avoid the partisanship which beset the Diocese. While we cannot guess the personal psychological costs this may have exacted, still it is reasonable to say that the observer would legitimately evaluate this as a period of great strength and stability for William Ingraham Kip.

CHAPTER 5

Journey to California

The departure of the Kip family for California was the result of numerous and difficult decisions. The social and ecclesiastical turbulence in California were disturbing factors which were compounded by the difficulties of distance and communication. Decisions and actions in California and New York produced response from the other side of the continent; the difficulty was that frequently the response was wholly unanticipated in its nature and effects. Therefore, Churchmen in New York and California were equally puzzled by their counterparts on the other side of the country.

In this bewildering context, the General Convention of 1853 faced decisions regarding the future of the Church and episcopacy in California. An astute observer of that Convention said that the California issue came before the delegates early, and "was one of themost urgent and important" issues to be faced. The Convention discussions dwelt on the vast difference between the spiritual possibilities and the realities of life in California. It was widely acknowledged that the prospects for a properly organized and supervised Church were of nearly gigantic proportions. So it was essential that the Convention directly facethe issues and solve the problems.[1]

Yet some months previous the Churchmen in California had expressed their serious doubts as to the interests and capacities of the Church in Eastern States to establish a proper relationship to the work needed in California. California had requested an episcopal visitation. As Chairman of the Standing Committee, Jean Ver Mehr reported that "it has pleased the Chief Bishop of the Holy Catholic Church to withhold (sic) from us the blessing of Episcopal supervision." He added that the Diocese of California was thus "left without a Shepherd and Guide."[2] So, the Standing Committee, through its Chairman, expressed the opinion that the Episcopal Church was responsible by conscious inaction for the lack of Episcopal supervision over the affairs of the Diocese. Years later Ver Mehr recalled believing that the Church in California "was left to her own resources" by this stance of the hierarchy back east.[3] It is not surprising that the Standing Committee advised the Diocesan Convention that it would be necessary to establish a system of Diocesan missions regardless of whether or not admission to the General Convention was sought.[4] With these factors in mind, the Diocesan Convention set about its work.

Once the idea of securing the historic episcopacy from the Orthodox Communion had been set aside,[5] there was no doubt that California was intent upon becoming a part of the larger Episcopal Church. It resolved to send delegates to the October sitting of the General Convention, and to apply for admission to the General Convention. A special committee was appointed to recommend methods for securing episcopal surpervision for the infant Diocese. The Committee reported that the appointment of a missionary bishop seemed precluded by the national canons, but that it seemed appropriate to place the Diocese under the temporary care of the bishop of another diocese. Another committee was established to correspond with bishops who might accept such a temporary charge. Later, the Convention annulled the election of the clerical delegates to the General Convention, leaving lay delegates certified to that national Convention. This action appears to have been prompted by consideration of the cost or passage of clerical delegates, and difficulties occasioned by the extended absence of the few clergy in California.[6] During the Diocesan Convention, there was neither question nor hesitation regarding membership in the Episcopal Church, and adherence to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Church. In fact, the Convention demonstrated itself eager to join the larger Church and secure proper episcopal supervision.

The California situation came under consideration in two official bodies of the Episcopal Church. On October 6 1853, the delegates from California saw their request for admission to the General Convention referred to the Committee on New Dioceses of the House of Deputies--the Convention's lower house, composed of priests and laymen in equal number. The same day, its request for financial aid to support an episcopal visitation was tabled by the Board of Missions. The Californians had hoped that the Board would pay the costs of an extended Visitation by either the Bishop of Missouri, or Michigan,or Western New York.[7] These actions on the part of the California delegates clearly demonstrated their desire to be a part of the national Church. As a result, the Committee on the Admission of New Dioceses recommended the admission of the Diocese of California. On the floor of the House, a substitute recommendation was offered to the effect that California be admitted only after explicitly acceding to the Constitution of the Episcopal Church. With this matter pending, the Deputies asked that the House of Bishops consider sending a Bishop and other clergy to California to strengthen the Church there; Deputies pledged the support of that House in the event that such a mission was realized. (It is interesting that the lower House responded--on its own initiative--to the request which had been lodged with the Board of Missions.) As a result of the "secessionist" and rebellious reputation of the Diocese of California, especially at the time of the founding of that Diocese, it was thought necessary to refer the subject to a special committee of the House of Deputies. The situation was under careful scrutiny and heated debate. So, the special committee reported that the California situation was "clogged with such peculiar circumstances as suggest both technical and practical difficulties, to embarrass every conclusion which has been conceived as possible." So intense was the debate that the Committee reminded the House that a resolution would require "the exercise of a sober discretion." With the application for admission cast aside on the pretext that the Diocesan Constitution failed to pledge subordination to the Constitution and General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the special committee suggested that a missionary bishop be appointed. While the House of Deputies might suggest a missionary bishopric, it was within the exclusive province of the House of Bishops to select such a missionary bishop. As a result, the matter came before the Bishops for consideration.

All members of the House of Bishops were aware that in its early days, the Diocese of California exhibited uncertainty as to whether or not to seek admission to the General Convention. They were also aware of the questionable nature of the status of the clergy who were early residents. They had seen both the Board of Missions and the House of Deputies reject different, but related applications from the Diocese of California. In this atmosphere the bishops considered whether or not to send a man of their choice regardless of the desires and preferences of the Episcopalians in California. With an eye to pastoral realities, Bishop Alonzo Potter, of Pennsylvania expressed serious doubt that "the election and consecration of a Missionary Bishop for California would be calculated to promote in the most effectual manner the interests of the Church in that region." He then urged the bishops to resolve that the senior bishop should arrange for episcopal visitations to California. But, it was decided that the Church in California should not be required to wait three more years for a subsequent General Convention to permit the election of a bishop for California. So, the bishops proceeded to the election of a Missionary Bishop of California.[8]

After William Ingraham Kip was elected and consecrated as Missionary Bishop of California, a hurried period of preparation began. Anticipation of people and situations filled his mind. His emotions were affected, as when the Kips were aboard the steamer for Panama. Bidding farewell to the many friends who came to see them off, a great sadness came over them. Bishop Kip found his mood in harmony with the dark sky and raw and chilly air. He mused on the great difference between "talk of severing the associations of a lifetime," and the reality of such a mournful experience.[9] Thus, the family went off to a future which seemed to offer little, save severe and unknown trials.

Yet Kip was not wholly without knowledge of the situation he would face in California. He certainly knew something of the social and ecclesiastical turbulence he would find. His information must have given him a legitimate sense of foreboding.

In seeking an episcopal visitation, California's committee of correspondence spoke of a large yet scattered population and the "rapid multiplication and increase of towns and communities and the perpetual influx of new settlers from various parts of the world."[10] Kip also had the eyewitness reports of his younger brother, Leonard, who had been one of the Forty-Niners, and traversed the Mother Lode Country in search of gold. Leonard knew of the abandoned ships in San Francisco Bay and the disreputable quality of much of the population of San Francisco. He mentioned the heterogeneous quality of the immigrating population. He knew, and was an example, of the transient quality of much of the new population. Leonard also reported that while the population contained many aristocratic and professional people, the society nonetheless lacked adequate medical care, an organized legal system, and sufficient schools. In short, while California's population had the capacity to provide all the amenities of society on the East Coast, there simply was no desire for such social emulation.[11] The result of Leonard's observations was the impression that California was a socially turbulent environment by the conscious choice of its population.

A large number of authors catered to the public interest in all California. Kip was aware of some of this material. At least part of his knowledge of the California coastline, and the several Mexican-style villages along that Coast, was from Richard Henry Dana's Two Years Before the Mast.[12] Walter Colton's account of Navy life in the Pacific gave Kip a sense of life in Monterey. One book helped Kip anticipate the Isthmian crossing, the nature of the Mother Lode area, and threats to health and life. Land speculation in California was reported in one summary account of California life and people which Kip read "with some reluctance, (from having already seen so many works on this subject)." He was aware of Congressional actions regarding California. His library contained a pamphlet supporting the movement for a railroad to the Pacific, and one which termed California a land of great opportunities in which the Church had a responsibility for properly nurturing the religious dimension of life.[13] There could be no doubt on his part that throughout California he would find conditions and situations unlike any he had previously known.

There was reason to expect internal dissension in the Diocese of California. Ver Mehr and Mines had contended for the same position; nonetheless, both came to California. Two parishes were established; when Mines died a successor was chosen, rather than combine and strengthen the parishes. Years later, Ver Mehr spoke of the antagonism between the two parishes as "an 'accidental' rivalry, somewhat damaging the two congregations."[14] Though it does not seem accidental,[15] the "rivalry" is confirmed as real in the mind of one key person. Such an opinion must have been shared by lay parishioners, and have been communicated to those outside the parish.

Two elements suggested the independent and potentially schismatic quality of the Church in California. First had been the two-fold attempt to secure the historic episcopacy apart from the discipline of the Episcopal Church: through the Eastern Orthodox Church, or choosing a previously consecrated Episcopal bishop without jurisdiction (the only prospect being

Horatio Sothgate). Kip and others believed this a serious intention, and maintained this belief in later years.[16] Second, Flavel Mines public statement that he desired to establish a pan-Pacific Church also raised the spectre of schism.

An article about Kip's consecration which probably he read--spoke of the Church in California having "long been overcast with storms and clouds--overhung with darkness and gloom".[17] When the Church in California was discussed by official Church bodies, there were earnest debates and few decisions.[18] So, there were manifold signs of intense, long-standing internal troubles.

The early expectation of unbounded wealth being at the command of the Church in California had given way to the more accurate realization thatthe Diocese of California and its few struggling congregations were virtually destitute. With its own financial difficulties in mind, the Diocese appealed for the episcopal visitation and support of the Board of Missions, because the Diocese was "not in a condition to elect a Bishop for itself."[19] A year earlier a resolution of the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions spoke of "the destitute condition and urgent spiritual necessities of the State of California."[20] So impressed was Kip by the spiritual needs and financial embarrassment of the Church in California, that he wrote Bishop Jackson Kemper shortly before leaving Albany that he regretted having been unable to visit Nashotah to secure recruits for work in California, and expressing the hope that the semi-monastic community at Nashotah might be colonized in California.[21] Flavel Mines had succinctly summarized the situation to be faced by a newly-arrived clergyman: "He will find no parish, no church-building, no salary, no Vestry, perhaps no female helpers."[22] So, Bishop Kip had reason for anguish over resources for the work in California.

The California activities of other denominations were also of concern to William Ingraham Kip. He had discussed the situation with Flavel Mines' widow and the conversation convinced him that immediate Episcopal action was necessary lest California be wholly pre-empted by the Roman Catholic and Free Church communions.[23] Urging support for Anglican Missionary work in California, Bishop Kip told his listeners: "while we linger, infidelity, error, schism, Mormonism, are on the march to do their work of death."[24] Rather than cooperation, Kip expected competition among religious groups in California. Indeed, he even set competition as his implicit task as he sought to overcome the "error" of other religious groups.

One is prompted to wonder why William Ingraham Kip went to California. As his brother had discovered, the family's aristocratic heritage would be anathema to the bulk of Californians. The highly transient population eschewed the normal institutions of settled society. As a result, California society lacked an established aristocratic elite. The Episcopal Church in California was in great tension, and there was intense competition from other denominations. In the face of these problems, the resources to further the work of the Church were meager at best. Previous actions of the Convention of the Diocese of California raised serious questions as to the nature of Kip's reception, since he would not be a person of their own choice. Finally, it appears that Kip was willing to work in California, but he did not seek the charge or episcopacy of California. William Ford Nichols, Kip's coadjutor and successor, termed it "one of those strange transplantings" to move this "scholarly presbyter" to tumultuous California. Nichols added that this was the universal view.[25]

Many years after his arrival in California Bishop Kip clearly expressed his understanding of the mission in which he was engaged. It was his belief that he was sent, and with a specific charge.[26] Having avoided conflict for the whole of his professional life, he was now called on directly to confront and resolve conflict:

> Into this wild scene of confusion the first bishop of the coast was sent, to gather up and reduce to order these disjointed fragments and breathe a spirit of harmony into these conflicting elements of life which here seemed to be in almost hopeless collision.[27]

As the family proceeded toward California he must have been particularly overawed by his responsibility to impose order on that Church which might not welcome him.

In addition to dedication and responsibility, Kip evidenced great self-sacrifice in agreeing to accept the post.

As he must have known, the monetary costs would be extremely high. In fact, he accepted the assignment without any idea as to the nature of the salary to be provided.[28] Later, having been forced to draw one-third of his missionary salary before departing Albany, he found it necessary to request an additional $500 to be sent to his banker, "as my bank account there is out of order from the expence (sic) of my breaking up (housekeeping in Albany)."[29] Simply getting to California was an expensive matter.[30] In addition to ship's passage from New York to San Francisco, there was the cost of portage across the Isthmus of Panama. Personal belongings were either transported by ship to and from Panama at baggage rates with an additional charge of twelve cents per pound for the trans-Isthmian trip, or from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn at a rate of forty cents and more per pound.[31]

On arrival in San Francisco, the Kips could expect to find costs extremely high. Some years later, Dr. Ver Mehr reported what was widely known at the time of Kip's arrival, that monthly expenses in San Francisco ran about $500.[32] Even under the best of circumstances, the Kips could expect his salary to cover only one-half their annual costs. It was certain that Bishop Kip and his family were venturing forth into an unknown and yet fearful and uncomfortable future.

Acceptance of the missionary post in California promised to be profoundly disruptive to Kip's accustomed style of life. While it was hoped he would eventually be selected Bishop of the Diocese by the clergy and laity thereof, he was sent to the west for an indefinite, but nonetheless temporary, period.[33] Thus, there was great uncertainty in his mind as to the duration of his tenure. In California Bishop Kip could expect to endure certain pressures and privations. When he preached on the rigors of the ministry just prior to their departure for California, he might well have been speaking of the ministry he anticipated in California. He warned the young ordinands of the difficulties of clerical life:

> Brought up amid books, and in seclusion, he must meet all sorts and conditions of men, warning from house to house, following sin into its secret lurking places....[34]

Elizabeth Sewell succintly stated the opinion of many of Kip's friends when she termed the California mission "such a complete exile."[35]

These many thoughts must have gone through his mind many times. Likely they compounded the otherwise sad task of leaving friends and familiar terrain behind. Perhaps they lent anguish to a voyage which took the small party ever closer to the intense troubles to be faced. Here was an example of self-sacrifice in the interests of duty and responsibility.

The voyage from New York to Panama was a pleasant and uneventful one.[36] Initially disturbed by the lack of heating facilities aboard the ship, the Kips soon discovered that nature provided abundant heat, and more. En route, they availed themselves of the opportunity to take a brief tour of Kingston, Jamaica. The Bishop was disturbed by the appearance of laziness and irresponsibility on the part of the recently freed Black population. This was another experience which, in his mind, reflected unfavorably on Black people, and may have conditioned his later relationship to Black Episcopalians in California.

Arriving at Aspinwall (on Panama's east coast) on the evening of December 29, 1853, the party remained on board until morning when it boarded the Panama Railroad. The railroad went into the dense jungle, skirted numerous swampy areas, and traversed the twisted course of the Chagres River many times. Yet the varied terrain and strange vegetation captivated the interest of Bishop Kip and his party. They were deposited near Gorgona, where they spent the night in a crowded and primitive hotel, of less than reputable quality.

The next morning they resumed the journey--this time on the backs of none-too-cooperative mules. In a journey much like the fabled race between the tortoise and the hare, Bishop Kip proceeded ahead while Mrs. Kip and her companions took a time of rest. As she proceeded, Mrs. Kip inquired after the Bishop, and was told he had been waylaid and murdered by natives. Henry J. Fisher, a companion of Mrs. Kip, and later Sexton of Grace Church, San Francisco, reported that she "fell fainting from her mule." Fearing the worst intentions on the part of those who conveyed this story about the Bishop, Fisher drew two pistols and forced an opening in the crowd, through which they departed hurriedly.[37] The Kips were re-united that evening in Panama City, both in excellent health. Throughout the rest of his life, Kip was impressed by the repeated threats to health and life which arose because of his being sent to California. This sense of danger began before the family reached his new cure.

The voyage from Panama to San Diego was a most eventful one. The Kip party embarked on the side-wheel steamer Golden Gate. Departing the evening of January 1, 1854, the voyage was untroubled, until January 10. The engine shaft broke that evening, thereby disabling the entire vessel. The captain immediately established a short rations plan to conserve food. Water was even more stringently controlled, and many passengers suffered greatly from thirst.[38] The Golden Gate drifted helplessly until the evening of January 14, when repairs were completed, and she sluggishly continued her voyage with but one engine and one side-wheel operative.

Early on January 18, the ship entered San Diego harbor, and at sunrise Bishop Kip found himself easily able to discern sights described so ably by Richard Henry Dana many years before. This suggested that much of California was unchanged from the days of Dana's visit. While in San Diego, the ships' provisions were restored, and the ship turned once more for San Francisco. But because there was but one operative wheel, the ship was unwieldy and eventually ran aground in the attempt to steam out of the bay. A fierce storm arose and battered the ship mercilessly. With the sea lashing her sides, and breaking atop her, the ship was repeatedly raised and brought crashing down on the rocks. Water entered through a break in the hull, and soon there was more than five feet of water in her. Crewmen were put to the task of bailing furiously. Dishes and other breakables were utterly destroyed in the constant harsh movement of the ship. Throughout the ordeal, young "Willie" Kip displayed a fearlessness which elicited the pride of the Bishop and commendation of crewmen. The hungry, drenched and tired passengers endured this ordeal for more than 36 hours during which time it was impossible to remove them from the endangered steamer. The threat finally ended, and without loss of life.[39] All were relieved when this panic-filled time was at an end.[40] When the storm abated, the Golden Gate was evacuated. While some passengers were taken to San Francisco on a smaller vessel, others--including Bishop Kip and his party--remained at San Diego. There, the Kips enjoyed several days of Mexican-style hospitality from Don Juan Bandini. In San Diego, Kip also met the Reverend John Reynolds, an Episcopal military chaplain with the local Army detachment.

From San Diego to San Francisco, the Kips enjoyed another uneventful journey. This time it was a most welcome quality. Departing San Diego on the evening of January 26, they arrived in San Francisco on the morning of Sunday, January 29. Several months later the Bishop recalled his expectations as they approached San Francisco. Mindful of the turbulence and tension known to exist in California, and that he was sent, not invited, he "felt, therefore, as we approached this harbor, as if I was coming to a land of strangers." However, the warmth of the reception quickly dispelled those feelings.[41]

WILLIAM INGRAHAM KIP

About 1853

Chapter 6

California: The First Year

The arrival of the Kip family in California was anticipated. Activities and decisions at the October General Convention had been transmitted to California churchmen. The first party of rescued passengers from the wrecked steamer Golden Gate had arrived several days earlier. Even before passengers disembarked from the steamer Columbia, which took the Kip party from San Diego to San Francisco, a letter was sent on board welcoming the Kips to San Francisco. A short time later the Bishop met the Diocesan welcoming committee. Particularly encouraging was the fact that he was warmly welcomed by the Standing Committee of the fledgling Diocese.[1]

Bishop Kip gratefully accepted the immediate request of the Rector of Trinity Parish to preach and assist in the morning worship service. The sermon provoked an immediate positive response and one religious paper mentioned the large audience and "great satisfaction (engendered) by the manner and matter of his discourse." A secular paper added that the sermon demonstrated "a high degree of talent and mind well stored with richest gems of literature and christian (sic) learning."[2]

In expectation of Bishop Kip's arrival and because housing was hard to get in San Francisco, one Trinity Church Vestryman spent $1,500 in preparing a section of his home as an apartment for the Bishop's use. With some indignation, the California correspondence to an eastern Church periodical reported San Francisco Episcopalians "much grieved" that anybody would harbor the belief that the California Church would not welcome Kip. He reported the opinion of one secular newspaper to the effect that apprehensive easterners should relax, because "Californians, both in Church and in Society, foster no petty jealousies."[3] So, from the outset, California Churchmen expended every effort to make their new Bishop feel welcome.

As a notable addition to San Francisco society, Bishop Kip and his family were also welcomed by those outside the Episcopal Church. The day after their arrival in San Francisco, T. Dwight Hunt, the noted and active Presbyterian clergyman, who was the senior Protestant minister in San Francisco, called to welcome Bishop Kip, whom he found "affable and agreeable."[4]

During the month of February, Bishop Kip settled himself and his family in this new charge, and sought to acquaint himself with the work to be done. On Sunday, February 5, one week after his arrival in San Francisco, the Bishop preached, and celebrated Holy Communion at Grace Church.[5] Thus, in eight days he had personal involvement in the worship in both parishes in San Francisco. Meanwhile, he received a request that he settle in Sacramento, with the proviso that the parishioners there would build a large church and provide ample support for the Bishop. But he was already of the opinion that San Francisco should be his See City, and that he should "settle here and take a Ch(urch)." On the afternoon of Friday, February 10, he left San Francisco for a visit to Sacramento and Marysville, where he had appointments.[6] On Sunday the Bishop conducted services and preached, both morning and evening, in a Methodist church in Sacramento. He must have engaged in a lengthy discussion with the Sacramento Vestry because shortly after that visitation, the Vestry called an eastern clergyman as rector, and Kip later expressed the hope that they "will not be long without a Rector." The visit to Marysville on Monday must have been of a brief and exploratory nature, since the Bishop conducted no worship services there. On Friday, February 15, he went to Stockton where, on the following Sunday, he conducted morning and evening worship services in the courthouse. Again, it appears that the Bishop conducted earnest discussions with the leading laymen of the parish in an effort to encourage them to secure regular pastoral leadership. Shortly after his visitation the Vestry met and resolved to give the Bishop *carte blanche* in securing a rector for them, while pledging "a liberal support."[7]

About this time the Kips secured and occupied a suite of rooms of their own choosing. For $100 a month they rented a parlor and two bedrooms, which they furnished themselves. A nearby restaurant provided the meals. This arrangement, however, they viewed as a temporary one during which time they could investigate the prospects of securing a home of their own.[8] Still to be settled was his own role in the Church in San Francisco.

The condition of San Francisco's two Episcopal parishes was markedly different. Trinity Church was able to provide sufficient support for its Rector, the Reverend Christopher B. Wyatt, that he was able to reside in San Francisco and devote the whole of his time to the work of the Church. On the other hand, Grace Church was much less secure. It had a very small congregation. Its Rector, the Reverend Dr. Jean L. Ver Mehr, was forced to secure his principal income by operating a girls' school on the Mariano G. Vallejo rancho in Sonoma. He was, therefore, not always present for Sunday services in Grace Church; Ver Mehr usually conducted services on alternate Sundays.

Years later, Ver Mehr wrote of the events of these days in a manner heavily veiled by the prevailing customs and courtesies. Between his lines is evident anger. Suggesting a kind of tug-of-war based on preaching, the necessarily usually-absent Rector spoke of Bishop Kip as one dispossessed speaks of the cause of his rejection: "His eloquent sermons drew the people, and when my parishioners heard him, there arose among the Vestry a wish to hear him oftener." When approached, Bishop Kip required that the parishioners and Vestry speak directly to their Rector. The result was a demand that Ver Mehr return and function as a full-time Rector, or resign and agree to be re-designated as the Assistant Rector. Ver Mehr resigned with the added stipulations that he would resume the Rectorship should Kip resign, and that he would officiate in the Bishop's absence.[9] On February 25, Kip accepted the call to the Rectorship of Grace Church.[10] About this time Henry J. Fisher was hired as Sexton of Grace Church, a post which he held, with only a brief interruption, until after Bishop Kip's death.[11]

The next month was less frenetic. The Bishop devoted himself to the pastoral activities of Grace Church. The regular presence, and preaching, at Grace Church helped confirm his reputation as a good preacher. Having briefly met and cordially welcomed Bishop Kip to San Francisco, T. Dwight Hunt was able to hear the Bishop preach at the evening service on March 12. He recorded his impression of Kip's sermon with great approbation: "His style is chaste, his matter orthodox, his plainness in application to the individual conscience unexpected and impressive--Glad he is among us."[12]

With the prospect of good preaching, and the added social status of regular encounters with the Bishop, attendance at Grace Church increased rapidly. During March twenty pews were rented and a $5,000 income realized. This allowed for the payment of all outstanding debts and left a slight remainder for other uses.[13] On March 20 the Right Reverend Thomas Fielding Scott, newly-elected and consecrated Missionary Bishop of Oregon and Washington, arrived for a brief visit with the Kips. Scott, a gentlemanly Georgian, discovered kinship-in-adversity with the transplanted Knickerbocker who served as his host. He later termed the visit with Kip "a pleasant season of intercourse."[14]

Even when busy with ecclesiastical affairs, Bishop Kip continued his efforts to encourage the betterment of young men. On March 30 he addressed the San Francisco chapter of the Young Men's Christian Association on "The Obstacles to Literary Progress" or, "The Obstacles of the Present Age to Mental Culture."

Because it was delivered from his own pulpit, the Reverend T. Dwight Hunt had another occasion to hear Bishop Kip. This time his evaluation was less enthusiastic, as he termed the lecture "well written" but "without originality, force or adaptation to place or people" and it was far too long. To further encourage YMCA work, Kip purchased a life membership.[15]

In spite of Diocesan and parochial tasks and pressures, William Ingraham Kip's historical interests and sensibilities required an outlet. So, during these early months in California, he turned his attention to the mission system established throughout the State during the previous 80 years by the Franciscan Fathers. The result of his studies was a treatise which surveyed the history of the mission chain, the life of residents at individual missions during the pinnacle of mission work, and the land holdings and associated economic system. He paid particular attention to discussing and describing the trades learned by the Indians and the division of labor within each mission. Bishop Kip was saddened by the coercive factors encouraging Indian conversions, and the resulting lack of depth of knowledge of the faith on the part of Indian converts. He assessed these as the principal reasons for there having been little enduring benefit from the valiant efforts of the Mission Fathers. Finally, he made note of the destructive effects of the secularization of the missions. When discussing specific missions, he devoted great attention to the missions in San Diego and San Francisco, both of which he had visited. Other missions he mentioned, but briefly and in summary fashion.

This writing was an outlet for the amateur historian. It provided accurate information on interesting points of California life for curious eastern readers. It also suggested that Bishop Kip believed California to be a vast territory in need of careful, sustained and noncoercive missionary endeavor. Thus, this was a subtle plea for the financial support of extensive missionary work in his jurisdiction. This intent is more obvious when we realize that the treatise was published not in a literary historical journal, but rather in a weekly general circulation religious periodical.

On the evening of Palm Sunday, April 9, Bishop Kip conducted his first confirmation service--at Trinity Church. Bishop Scott, whose departure had been delayed by the illness of his wife, assisted with the service. The 18 confirmands included 12 men and 6 women from the United States, England and a woman from China. The Chinese confirmand provoked Kip to consider the great potential for missionary work among the Chinese in California, and he expressed the hope that she might prove "but the first-fruits of many from that benighted land, who on these shores are to be gathered into the fold of the Church." He was also deeply impressed by the wide geographic and personal diversity represented by this group of confirmands. On the basis of this moving experience, he reminded eastern Churchmen that "before the altar of our Lord we are all one, and within the fold of the Church, the distinction of race or country are all forgotten."[17]

For one with an eastern, aristocratic background, this service must have been an extremely thought-provoking one. Bishop Kip's subsequent comments about the event suggest a significant change had taken place in his thinking. No longer could he view the Episcopal Church as a place of worship for the genteel and better class of Americans. It had, in his mind, now been transformed into a religious place for the unification of all people and all classes.

Parochial duties kept the Bishop in San Francisco during Holy Week, but on April 17, Easter Monday, he began an extensive missionary tour of the northern part of the State. Whereas his February visits to Sacramento and Stockton had been notivated by a desire to contact existing--or once existing--congregations, this was to be Kip's first great missionary journey to develop congregations. He designed this trip as:

> ...a tour through the mining regions visiting Nevada (City), Placerville, Grass Valley, etc., to ascertain the best points for Missionary efforts when God shall put in the hearts of laborers to offer themselves for this field.[18]

Departing by steamer at 4:00 a.m.,[19] Kip arrived at Sacramento at daylight, and at the mouth of the Yuba River by 1:00 p.m. A Marysville Churchman had previously provided public notice of the Bishop's arrival and conduct of services, so that a sizeable congregation gathered for the evening worship. Leaving Marysville at 7:00 a.m. on Tuesday, the Bishop began the overland journey to Grass Valley. En route, he proposed to stop at Rough and Ready to conduct services and investigate the possibility of establishing a congregation there. But he found two things lacking: advance notice of his arrival, and "any...who are favorably disposed towards the Church." So, he continued directly to to Grass Valley.

There Kip introduced himself to a gentleman whose name had been given him in Marysville. This Grass Valley aide gave Bishop Kip lodging, arranged to send notice of an impending visitation to Nevada City, and introduced the Bishop to local families and prospective supporters of a congregation in Grass Valley. So the Bishop spent more than two days calling on people in Grass Valley. Stormy weather notwithstanding, the Bishop left Grass Valley early on the morning of April 21 for a visit to Nevada City. During the short, but difficult, journey his party "floundered through the mud" and encountered both snow and rain. Yet, it was worth the arduous journey, since Nevada City was one of the most important and populous communities in the State. The Bishop characterized it as "a place of nearly ten thousand inhabitants, crowded most compactly into a couple of ravines on the side of the mountain." It was a prosperous community "surrounded by the most extensive mining operations in the State." His Grass Valley host had written the editor of the *Nevada* (City)*Journal* who, though not an Episcopalian, arranged to have the Congregational Church building available for the Bishop's use, and also provided public notice of the impending visitation. The Bishop was incredulous when he discovered that only about 500 persons attended any of the local churches on a Sunday. He was, therefore, quite pleased when his Friday evening service had an attendance of some 50 persons. Because these people "earnestly desire the services of the Church," Kip promised to return in June and spend an entire Sunday in Nevada City. He then returned to Grass Valley where, on Sunday afternoon, he conducted worship in the Presbyterian Church, with an attendance of 100 persons. His visitations, conversations, and Sunday service attendance convinced the Bishop that within one year a congregation in Grass Valley would be able to provide complete support for a parish priest. A few days later, he wrote a strenuous appeal to eastern clergy urging volunteers for a ministry in Grass Valley. On Tuesday, April 25, he began the return journey to San Francisco via Auburn and Sacramento.[20]

On this brief but arduous journey, Bishop Kip had both discovered some and confirmed other elements of a missionary style which would endure for years to come. He succinctly summarized the proper behavior of a missionary bishop as he envisioned that work:

> the only effective way is for me to spend some days in visiting the Churchmen, "preaching from house to house," to prepare for the Sunday services. This should be my usual occupation, but at present my necessary connection with Grace Church in San Francisco prevents my being absent there often on Sunday, and thus utterly cripples my efforts. Should the time ever come that I can devote myself entirely to the waste places of the Diocese, I can then properly discharge the duties of my office by being the first Missionary in the Diocese.[21]

Thus, in his own mind, his principal function should have been that of active evangelist, not passive overseer. This is a style notably different from that of the scholarly manner of a Rector in a major eastern parish. The tumultuous and needy conditions of California life had effected an important transformation in style on William Ingraham Kip. Yet it was not a change without precedent or preparation. The style he envisioned as Missionary Bishop and which he sought to live was essentially that of Jackson Kemper, the first Missionary Bishop of the Episcopal Church. Kip's personal and vicarious encounter with the efforts of Kemper were mirrored in his choice of missionary style.

In early May, the Diocesan Convention held a special midterm Adjourned Meeting of its 1853 regular triennial session. It was a meeting which marked the end of old fears and pre-conceptions on the part of the Bishop, the Diocese and eastern Churchmen. The session began with the Bishop's calm and dispassionate address.

He gave prominent place to the constitutional issue which had resulted in the rejection of California's application for admission to the General Convention. Recounting the fact that "there was no provision in your constitution, nor in the resolutions requesting admission for your delegates, which subscribed to the constitution and government of the Protestant Episcopal Church;" he added that the delegation sent to the General Convention had been refused seating, as the Diocese had been refused admission. Maintaining a discrete silence regarding the fears and understandings of the easterners regarding the intended independence of the Church in California, Bishop Kip temperately termed the omission "inadvertent." He announced his belief that an application for admission "was ipso facto declaring your assent to the constitution of the Church General." He went on to recommend that the Convention formally solve the problem by a direct declaration of adherence to the constitution and canons of the Episcopal Church.

Yet even at this point Bishop Kip drew a distinction between himself and the people of the Diocese of California; he was not fully a part of the Diocese. He viewed his position and relationship to the Diocese as temporary in nature. This is suggested by his continued use of the word "your" regarding the constitution and delegates of the Diocese of California. In short, he verbally established some distance between himself and other members of the Convention of the Diocese. This was their situation and their problem, not his.

In a brief and somewhat cryptic portion of his Address to the Convention, Bishop Kip urged the delegates to unity and faithfulness in the face of "that mighty conflict which the Church finds each year gathering more closely about it."[22] Since he was speaking of a storm outside the Church, but one which might nonetheless buffet the Church, he could not have been referring to the tribulations occasioned by the intense struggles over Churchmanship. The general reference to "The Church," rather than to "The Church of California" makes it unlikely that this had to do with matters peculiar to California. He had resided so briefly in California, which had been American but a few short years, that it is equally unlikely Kip would try to speak so knowledgeably about a long-term matter.

It is entirely likely that the issue which drew his deep interest and concern was the national matter of the Sectional conflict over slavery which ultimately led to the Civil War. One element in that struggle, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, had been of concern to Kip for some years. He kept a pamphlet which points to conflicts between the Constitution and the Law, used Biblical examples to show that God opposes slavery and advised peaceful resistance to the Law.[23] Shortly after the Law took effect, he reviewed a sermon which enjoined the religious duty of obeying the Fugitive Slave Law. Without direct comment on the content, he said the purpose of reviewing the sermon was "to recommend its wide circulation." Summarizing a booklet on Jamaica and the decline of plantations and production following the emancipation of slaves, Kip commended it for its accuracy. A compilation of the speeches of the abolitionist Charles Sumner evoked this response: "...we can not agree with him in all of his views, we can pay our tribute to the nobleness of his motives."[24] Though reserved in his expressions, it seems Kip was deeply concerned about the problem of slavery. He had no solution to urge. Rather, the Bishop feared the divisiveness which might occur in the diverse and volatile population. The unity of the Church was Kip's primary concern.

The Convention quickly commended the Standing Committee for the warm welcome extended to Bishop Kip in behalf of the Diocese, and as one of Kip's subsequent proteges remarked, it was by this action that "the Diocese quietly relapsed into the position of missionary field from its pseudo and uncertain state of independency." A similar view was expressed by an eastern writer conversant with California affairs, who advised readers that as a result of this Convention, "all fear of difficulties growing out of the action of the late General Convention with relation to that quasi-diocese, are at an end."[25] Thus, this brief Convention marked the confirmation of Kip's authority over the Church in California and dissipation of eastern fears for the ecclesiastical stability of Anglicanism in California.

Later in the month of May, the Bishop travelled to nearby points to conduct mid-week worship services and call on prospective parish leaders. On May 11, he went to Sacramento where he spent several days and conducted evening worship. On Friday, May 12, and Saturday, May 13, he served as the daily chaplain for the State Senate, opening each session with prayer.[26] On the 23rd he took the stage to San Jose where he was most favorably impressed by "a climate which could not be excelled in Italy." The following evening he conducted well-attended worship services in the local Presbyterian Church. The following day he returned to San Francisco via the East Bay area.[27] Thus, he continued to expand his knowledge of the terrain within his vast missionary domain. He had discovered a means for being both settled parish pastor and "the first missionary" in the Diocese; he remained in San Francisco working and available before and after Sundays, and of course conducting Sunday Worship at Grace Church. Then, during mid-week he visited outlying areas where he functioned as the missionary.

On May 30 Bishop Kip delivered the principal dedicatory address at the opening of San Francisco's new Lone Mountain Cemetery. First he surveyed historical attitudes toward the dead and their burial. Included were sections on Jewish, heathen, Greek and Roman beliefs. Perhaps recalling the Indian complaints against the English, which he heard during the 1847 tour of the Old Northwest, he said that:

> Even the poor Indian of our own continent when turning his back forever on the hunting grounds of his tribe, felt that the sorest trial of all was to leave his "father's grave to be profaned by the foot of the spoiler."

So, in all peoples and cultures, Kip found a special reverential attitude toward the dead. Then Bishop Kip spoke briefly of the theology of resurrection both among the ancient Egyptians and within the Christian community. He closed with the reminder that the land then dedicated would be special in the customs, usages and attitudes of all peoples because it was hallowed to their dead, and more precious it was because it was a visible reminder of the Christian hope of the Resurrection.[28]

The summer months were busy, though essentially routine. During June he visited Stockton several times, conducting visitations, a marriage, and Sunday worhsip services attended by between 300 and 400 persons. While extensive legal disputes over the ownership, subdivision and resale of property in Stockton prevented the Church from purchasing its own land, Bishop Kip continued to encourage the stablization of the Vestry and congregation.[29] During July the Bishop visited Napa, Sonoma (and the

Ver Mehr and Vallejo families), and the mostly-Spanish-speaking Monterey. In the latter community he lauded the restorative powers of the pleasant weather, while seriously doubting local ability to maintain an Episcopal priest and parish.[30] His historical interests drew him to the old Franciscan Mission in nearby Carmel. He found the buildings in decay, though the interior walls still bore the painted words and notes of ancient Christian hymns. There they met a Padre from Monterey who was rescuing useable ornaments and furniture for his parish; during the course of their time together, he pointed out the desecrated graves of his deceased Franciscan brothers. The Bishop's graphic word-pictures of this scene of decay leave no doubts as to the sadness in his mind.[31]

Bishop Kip's visitations, conversations, and desires reinforced his earlier wish for a Nashotah-like institution to assist in the missionary work and clergy training within his Diocese. So, when writing a letter to Bishop Kemper, Kip added the woeful plea: "Oh, for a Nashotah to set everything right here." He then mentioned the impossibility of promising specific assignments to prospective missionaries, but added that he had no doubt but what work and support would be available for those who would risk the journey and uncertainties.[32] Having been very busy for the several months since his arrival, Bishop Kip spent the month of August in the sedate and routine work of being pastor to the people of Grace Church, San Francisco.

For many months, Bishop Kip had been quietly working toward the establishment of an Episcopally sponsored college. As early as March a California correspondent had alerted eastern

Churchmen that the Bishop had an offer of some 150 acres for such a college, and financial support might be solicited on the east coast.[33] The Reverend Dr. Orange Clark was particularly active in this project, and in early May the Bishop gave him a letter of introduction to Mr. Justice Alexander Wells, of the California Supreme Court. The Justice was asked to provide assistance in the preparation of a charter for what was now called Trinity College.[34] On August 2, Dr. Clark, George Yount, and Paul Hubbs, as a committee on behalf of "Trinity College of Larkin," had selected a 500 acre site on a Thomas O. Larkin-owned property known as Huecheco Rancho, on Carnero Creek, as the proposed College site. Larkin had agreed to donate property for the establishment of a primary school and college. It was April, 1855 before a formal request for a deed to the property was submitted to Larkin. [35] As early as October, 1854, eastern Churchmen read of the proposed college, and were told that Larkin was expected to donate 640 acres for the enterprise and that the site had already been selected. Further, they were informed the charter application to the Legislature was in progress.[36] This seemed to be a venture well on its way to successful completion. Yet, curiously, the Diocesan Journals of the period make no mention of the endeavor, and neither Larkin's papers, nor other known sources indicate the disposition of the various proposals and offers. The project died, leaving no subsequent trace.[37]

The remainder of 1854 Bishop Kip spent in San Francisco with only brief and occasional visits to nearby points. He made one visit to Sacramento, one to Benicia, two to San Jose--including one to conduct the funeral of Mr. Justice Wells--and two to Oakland. He carefully arranged his schedule so that he was absent from Grace Church only one Sunday each month.[38] On the evening of October 8, the Bishop consecrated Grace Church, San Francisco--the first such Episcopal service on the Pacific Coast. The opening procession symbolized the calm and tranquil relationship which had quickly been established between Trinity and Grace parishes after Kip's arrival in California. The Wardens, Vestries and choirs of both parishes processed together in happiness. One reporter continued to enhance the Bishop's reputation for good preaching by saying that his sermon was delivered with "characteristic force and eloquence" and that it "reached the minds and moved the hearts."[39] In a November 19 sermon, the Bishop preached on the omnipresence of God and made reference "to the withering march of cholera through the Eastern towns" as well as a recent shipwreck, contrasting the death of people in these events to the untroubled life in San Francisco.[40] While avoiding specific thorny political and social issues of the day, it appears that Bishop Kip's sermons did demonstrate an awareness of current events and attempted to bridge the gap between academic theology and the meaning and nature of specific human affairs. Finally, on December 9, the Bishop solemnized the marriage of Sophie Congdon and Ferdinand C. Ewer, subsequently the Bishop's successor as Rector of Grace Church.[41]

While the Bishop was visiting Oakland on December 17, a majority of the Vestry of Grace Church met and terminated Dr. Ver Mehr's status as Assistant Minister in the parish. It was stated that they found him "a hinderance to its prosperity." Also absent were three Vestrymen whom Ver Mehr considered friends and supporters. He was understandably perplexed and angry. On inquiry as to the reason for his dismissal Ver Mehr was told that his accent made him difficult to understand. Not satisfied, and in subsequent musing, he commented it was strange he was able to serve as founding Rector and conduct the affairs of the struggling parish for three years prior to the coming of Bishop Kip, while the parishioners were unable to understand him.[42] His protestations and anger notwithstanding, the action had been taken and parish and former pastor parted ways in a not very amicable fashion.

From early days there had been interest in missionary work among the Chinese in California. The Church was supporting a Missionary Bishop and clergy team in China proper and there was substantial interest in missionary work among immigrant Chinese. The potential need for such work was suggested in 1850 when Flavel Mines alerted the Church to a near-inundation of the Pacific Coast by Chinese immigrants.[43] Kip's nationally-published thoughts on the occasion of confirming a Chinese woman increased interest and support. About October, 1854, the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions appointed the Reverend E. W. Syle, formerly a missionary in China, to serve as missionary among the

Chinese in California. This, of course, was subject to the approval of Bishop Kip. In mid-December, the Bishop expressed happiness with this support of efforts in California and pledged his own help for this new work. As a means of support for both the missionary and for a struggling parish, the Bishop placed Syle as the Rector in Oakland with the expectation that he could travel by steamer between Oakland and San Francisco, where he would conduct his mission among the Chinese.[44] This was, of course, not the best arrangement, but was the most satisfactory one the Bishop could provide.

William Ingraham Kip's first year in San Francisco was concluded by visitations to Sacramento, Marysville and Coloma. In his now-accustomed style, the Bishop called on prospective parishioners, met with vestries and other organized committees, and conducted services.[45] As "the first missionary of the Diocese" he sought to organize and sustain struggling groups of Anglicans throughout his charge.

It had been a busy and rewarding year, devoted to narrowly Anglican pursuits. On his arrival in January, 1854, he found two parishes in San Francisco. One was stable and the other was struggling. In May, 1855, eight parishes held membership in the Diocesan Convention and six had their own clergy, and there was a joint ministry yoking Grass Valley and Nevada City.[46] The ecclesiastical tension in San Francisco had eased and feared difficulties throughout the Diocese had not materialized. The Bishop had visited the major cities within his charge-- all of southern California was sparsely populated-- and established for himself a missionary style which seemed well adapted to the needs of the area. William Ford Nichols, Kip's successor as Bishop of California, recalled the story of Kip's seeking out a young, unknown man in San Francisco and "ministering constantly to him and another member of his family in serious illness, and that at considerable personal discomfort."[47]

This personal pastoral care was an important and notable part of the Bishop's early ministry in San Francisco. It appears that in these early years, Kip established a reputation for diligence and self-sacrifice. He was clearly aware of the self-sacrifice he asked of those who would assist his missionary endeavors. He had already written Bishop Kemper inquiring as to the availability of a young, single man from Nashotah offering himself for the arduous work in California. He also spoke to the whole Church concerning the great costs and serious difficulties of supporting missionaries in California. Expressing the legitimate discomfort he felt near the end of that first year, Kip said:

> You have no idea how perfectly overwhelmed I feel with the responsibilities of my situation. It is not the mere self-denial, or hard labor, though of this there is much more than you are aware, but it is the feeling of all there is to do with so little help.[48]

Chapter 7

California: The Early Industrious Years

Heavy demands were made on William Ingraham Kip's time, abilities and energy during the period from 1855 to 1860. He continued to make missionary journeys to establish and sustain the small and struggling congregations throughout California. At the same time, he sought to establish a missionary system which would would minister to both miner and agriculturalist alike. For much of this time, he served as Rector of Grace Church, San Francisco. The obstacles were many: the arduous nature of travel, lack of money, periods of poor health, and the lack of available clergy. Throughout the period he worked for the establishment and support of an Anglican mission in Hawaii. In the latter part of the period, he worked to maintain Diocesan unity in the face of the divisive ecclesiastical effects of the nation's Civil War. Not all his time was spent in California. There were one trip to the Atlantic Coast States and two trips to Europe. Yet throughout, it was a period marked by great industry.

The presence of culturally unknown Orientals, and the titillating tales of visitors excited the interest and attention of occidental San Franciscans with regard to the local Chinatown.[1] Not only did Kip visit the local

Chinese community, but he sought to understand the people and their culture by familiarizing himself with missionary reports from China, and being attentive to reports from the local Chinatown. In these ways he was preparing for missionary work among the Chinese of San Francisco.

The dismal and dreary conditions of the Chinese were an offense to the Bishop. In the midst of terribly crowded conditions, the Chinese were "imitating the vices, but not emulating the virtues of the whites." There were numerous gambling houses which catered to the frequent and long-term gambling activities by large numbers of Chinese. Liquor consumption was very high. Large quantities of opium were in use. Feuds had been transplanted from China to San Francisco. The Bishop approvingly quoted the following newspaper account of the Chinese in San Francisco:

> dirt, filth, nauseous smells and horrid caterwailing characterize the streets in which they live, and the most disgusting indecencies practiced by them, are forced upon the eye in passing their homes.

While certainly aware of the abundant prostitution among Chinese women, Kip made but passing reference to the "condition of the females" being "even worse than that of the males," adding that most of them "gain their bread by the most degrading device." In a strong and succinct indictment, he termed the Chinese in California "the vilest offscouring of China."[2]

The Bishop was troubled by some Chinese attitudes and behavior. He particularly decried their unwillingness to cooperate in the judicial system. In this regard he spoke of frequent perjury and the intimidation of witnesses by organized Chinese associations. By these means they prevented the accurate and efficient operation of the judicial system. Another disturbing factor was Chinese isolationism. Not only did they maintain separate and distinct residential and business quarters, but Kip found them socially and culturally isolated also. They were "separated from everyone else, carrying with them the costumes, language, habits, and occupations of their native land." There was not only the fact of isolation and separation, but the positive intention to maintain that solitary stance. The Bishop saw them "making no effort to acquire our language, and conducting themselves in every respect as if they were strangers in a strange land, and determined to remain strangers." There was a great gulf between Caucasian and Chinese, which was increased by American hostility. As a general summary Bishop Kip expressed the opinion that the Chinese in California added nothing toward the progress and improvement of the general populace.[3]

The population of California was growing at an explosive rate. In 1850 Federal census takers reported more than 117,000 residents; by the end of 1853 the total was more than 282,000. At the end of 1856 California had an estimated population of over half a million persons.[4] At the beginning of 1855 the total population must have been between 300 and 400 thousand persons, of which Bishop Kip, relying on the estimates of other observers, believed 50,000 to be Chinese.[5] Without doubt, the Chinese were a large segment of the State's population.

The Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions sent the Reverend E. W. Syle into this situation as a missionary to the Chinese. While Syle was yet in transit, Bishop Kip wrote the Domestic Committee offering his encouragement and support for this missionary endeavor.[6] Yet this was mere approbation of a _fait accompli_, which Kip later said he would "never have advised its present form." So, when Syle arrived in San Francisco about the beginning of January, 1855, Kip immediately expressed doubts as regards the success of this work. The Bishop soon assisted the Syle family in settling in present-day Oakland where parishioner support was more certain because a congregation existed, whereas there were _no_ Chinese Episcopalians. The high costs of living in San Francisco and the niggardly missionary salary made residence in San Francisco a virtual impossibility for the Syles. Being only an occasional visitor to San Francisco, and therefore unable to engage in regular and sustained missionary work, Syle was reduced to serving as an occasional assistant in the teaching efforts of the Reverend Mr. Speer, the resident Presbyterian missionary to the Chinese.[7]

At the May, 1855 Convention of the Diocese of California, Syle spoke of the characteristics of the local Chinese, as well as the many difficulties involved in a mission to them. In a gloomy summary and prospectus he said that "no perceptible impression has yet been made upon them, and that the prospect of Christianizing a considerable number of them is remote, if not altogether hopeless."[8] Syle was not alone in his opinion that the various Chinese missions had failed and in predicting dismal prospects. Bishop Kip referred to a Roman priest, a Baptist missionary, and the Reverend Mr. Speer, who had all worked among the Chinese with virtually no success.[9]

Because the Chinese in San Francisco were predominantly Cantonese in dialect, while Syle lacked familiarity with that dialect, Syle's personal sense of failure is not surprising. Though a former missionary in China, he was schooled in another dialect. At the very time Syle expressed his discouragement to the Diocesan Convention, the Domestic Committee in New York expressed its concern for the future of the endeavor by "proposing various questions and considerations."[10] So, within a few short months, all those involved in this mission became seriously disenchanted and concerned for the future of the work: the Domestic Committee, the Missionary Bishop, and the missionary.

In brief and passing comments, the Bishop later expressed serious doubts as to the personal abilities of E. W. Syle. It was Kip's opinion that Syle had been a failure in his work on the mainland of China. Syle had been engaged in work in China, "but being unable to accomplish anything there, had settled down in Oakland." The Bishop soon discovered that by his standards Syle was also a failure in an American parish. Taking charge of the Oakland parish, Syle spent most of his time there. Yet in a few months, the Bishop was forced to say, "it died on his hands and he returned to China."[11]

Two proposals for Church work among the Chinese came from California: one from the continuing Missionary Bishop, the other from the soon-to-depart missionary to the Chinese. Syle expressed the opinion that there was no need for a special mission to the Chinese, and that the evangelization of this segment of the population should be the responsibility of the parish clergy in San Francisco. On the other hand, Bishop Kip proposed employing several unmarried missionaries who might live among the Chinese and minister to them. The Domestic Committee decided to support the analysis and proposal of Syle, who had already admitted personal failure in his mission. The advice of the continuing responsible Missionary Bishop was ignored.[12]

Within a year this first mission to California's Chinese-- begun with great hopes-- foundered on the basis of personal, financial and linguistic factors. Labeled "failure" by all involved, it quickly terminated. About a year after arriving in California, the Reverend Mr. Syle departed on his return to the mission in China.[13] With the ignominious demise of this project, the notion of national missionary support for work among the Chinese in California died forever.

In early 1856 Bishop Kip's attention was drawn to the Chinese community once again. San Francisco's Chinese population sponsored a five-day festival to celebrate the establishment of a permanent Buddhist temple.[14] In a massive crowd of Occidentals, Bishop Kip attended the inaugural ceremony. Kip observed and described an hour-long worship service which included prostrations, the elevations of offerings, the discharge of firecrackers, the reading of prayers, processions and chants, with several officiants and assistants. Recalling the major factors in the observance and the lack of popular participation, Kip "was forceably struck" by "the great resemblence in outward appearance to many services of the Romish Church." He expressed the further belief that Chinese observing Roman Catholic worship services would be similarly impressed by the likeness.[15] Yet, because he had made the decision to refrain from active missionary endeavor among the Chinese population, this was but one more curious experience in a strange and culturally uncomfortable land.

In addition to serving as observer, commentator and administrator in missionary affairs, Bishop Kip continued to function in his role as "the first missionary of the Diocese." In this capacity, he continued to travel and evangelize throughout the State. He investigated, evangelized and sustained people and parishes throughout California as he had done on his earlier missionary journeys.

The Bishop's January travels took him to Sacramento, Marysville and Coloma. He was disturbed by the discovery that the steamer Pearl on which he was riding was engaged in a race with a competing steamer. These displays of bravado disturbed him even more deeply when, five days later, the Pearl "in repeating the race, was blown to pieces."

On alternate Sundays in February, the Bishop was in San Francisco. One period out of town was spent in Sacramento where he delivered a lecture to the Sacramento Pioneer Association "aiding the diffusion of sound and conservative literary views." In this regard, he functioned as a cultural missionary intent upon promoting a stable and literary-social situation. In early 1855 he visited Benicia, the Pacific Coast headquarters of the United States Army. During two brief visits in his first year in California, Kip had helped establish a struggling parish there. It had henceforth been sustained by the valiant efforts of Edward Townsend, a resident Army Officer who had been appointed layreader.[16]

En route to his missionary See, the Kip family endured life on a disabled ship, and eventual shipwreck. Earlier in 1855 he had missed a steamer explosion by a time factor of five days. But his waterborne trials were not over. In mid-May, Kip made yet another rapid visitation to the Mother Lode area. Leaving San Francisco by steamer on May 10 he had an experience graphically recounted as follows:

> between 11:00 and 12:00 o'clock we were aroused by a series of crashes, followed by a rush towards the stern, and the shrieks of the terrified passengers. We found that the machinery had broken, throwing the walking beam over the saloon, which it reached by crashing through the hurricane-deck above, grinding everything in the saloon, with which it came into contact, into splinters. It went through the next deck and the main deck below, when another revolution of the wheel, threw it around, demolishing everything within reach. In two minutes, damage had been done to the amount of $20,000. It went through the deck about twelve feet from our stateroom, but as most of the passengers had retired to their beds, and its direction was through the centre of the saloon, most providentially, no stateroom was touched and no one injured. Had it been an hour earlier, when many were about the saloon, there would have been a great destruction of life.[17]

On these various missionary journeys, Bishop Kip had experiences and saw sights which he could not possibly have imagined before coming to California. The tale of one stage journey includes a description of fellow passengers, which is typical of many such passages:

> Our passengers formed a variegated assortment, consisting of rough miners in their flannel shirts, with revolvers buckled round them, Americans, Californians, Mexican women speaking no English, Chinese and negro.[18]

As the mines became less prosperous, and therefore less attractive, and immigration declined, the Mother Lode towns began to settle into quieter and more mature moods. As a result, Grass Valley and Nevada City enacted ordinances requiring the Sunday closing of various houses of public amusement, and once-a-week quiet descended upon them. Kip was impressed by the notable difference between this quiet and the "din and noise which I found last year."[19] Kip also had occasional opportunities to see what he termed "the degraded Digger Indians."[20] There were, of course, many problems with which the Bishop was faced.

Proud and overly enthusiastic residents of mining towns gave Kip inflated estimates of population at hand; as mines were exhausted in one place and new discoveries were made elsewhere, the transient population shifted rapidly. Thus, it becomes extremely difficult to assess accurately the reliability of support for missionary clergy to be placed in the Mother Lode area. One such missionary, William H. Hill, said of Nevada City and Grass Valley: "Instead of there being, as was represented to the Bishop, 10,000 inhabitants in the former place, and 4,000 in the other, it is a liberal estimate that gives 5,000 to both.[21] Yet the Bishop was by now having misgivings about his whole approach. He had been visiting places without organized parishes and seeking to establish parishes. Having excited parishioner interest and enlisted financial support, he had no available clergy to supply these distant points.[22] So he began raising moral issues with regard to the style and practice of initiating interest in formation of parishes when the results of his missionary endeavors would be minimal because of the lack of available clergy.

Several requests from residents of Los Angeles, a request from Captain John Gardiner, of Fort Tejon, and his own inclinations combined to make a tour of Southern California desirable. However, the area was noted for banditry and lawlessness, making it necessary to travel in large, well-armed groups. The Bishop lacked access to such a traveling party.[23]

Major E. D. Townsend, the layreader in Benicia and Adjutant General of the Army's Department of the Pacific, was ordered to make an inspection tour of Army posts. The route of that tour would admirably suit Bishop Kip's purposes. The happy coincidence of business and friendship brought these two men and thier associates together. The Bishop and his son, Willie, joined the Major and his aide, James Tuttle Smith on board the steamer Republic which departed San Francisco on October 1. The vessel's captain had been in command of the Golden Gate when it was shipwrecked with the Bishop aboard, and Kip detected that the Captain displayed his superstitious qualities by suspiciously eyeing the Bishop. After brief stops at Monterey and Santa Bar-

bara, the ship arrived at San Pedro, the port for Los Angeles.[24]

Los Angeles was a city of some 5,000 inhabitants, the majority of whom were of Mexican ancestry. One-story adobe buildings were the rule. Trees, flowers and other vegetation were rare; so, there was an oppressive quality to the semi-desert quality of the terrain. Illiteracy was high and there were few cultural pursuits to relieve the social and intellectual tedium. A lawless quality resulted from criminals flowing into the area following their eviction from San Francisco as a result of the work of the Committee of Vigilance.

Several days were consumed in visiting the area around Los Angeles and in waiting for the party's military escort, which came from Fort Tejon. In Los Angeles, they joined two men who had preceded them to Southern California: James E. Calhoun, son of the late Vice President John C. Calhoun, and Edward Stanly, formerly Congressman from North Carolina.[25]

In the course of their wanderings, Bishop Kip and Major Townsend came upon a Methodist camp meeting in progress. Though Townsend wanted nothing to do with the meeting, he was surprised to find, "the Bishop seemed to have a great desire to see the performances." With the preacher providing "the usual amount of strenuous effort of lung and fist," and the more than one hundred persons in tents and brush huts sharing food and prayer, there were all the elements common to a traditional Methodist camp meeting.[26] Reflecting on this experience, Bishop Kip soon reminded Eastern readers that Southern California Protestants had "no religious instruction but what is derived from the excitement of an occasional Methodist camp-meeting."[27] The missionary dimension of the Bishop was sorely troubled by what he viewed as the spiritual destitution of the region.

Conducting Sunday worship, Bishop Kip discovered the services attracted an audience which rivalled the size of the Methodist camp meeting. Yet this was a one-time-only service and he could promise no continuing pastoral care to these people. Once more, he found himself visiting, conducting services and raising hopes when there was no prospect that he could assist in the realization of those spiritual desires.

It took four days for the party to make the trip from Los Angeles to Fort Tejon, high in the mountains between the Los Angeles Basin and the San Joaquin Valley. Captain Gardiner sent an Army ambulance wagon, with an armed cavalryman as driver, to transport the party to Fort Tejon. With the exception of Bishop Kip, the entire party was well armed, as protection against the general lawlessness of the area. The first day there were four delays. First the harness pole broke. Then the reins became entangled in the wagon wheels. Next, the driver broke his whip handle and was deprived of a means of urging the mules to a more rapid pace. Finally, part of one of the mule collars came loose. Other delays, and the continual remembrance that the area was infested with bandit groups made the group wary, and happy when on the morning of October 11, all arrived safely at Fort Tejon.[28]

During the brief visit to Fort Tejon, Bishop Kip celebrated Communion, baptised several children, buried a soldier, and visited the widow of a recently deceased officer. Yet because services were being led regularly by the appointed lay-reader, this visitation did not fall within Kip's concept of missionary work. It was rather an opportunity to exercise the ministry of the Church in its fullness and in so doing "to give in the minds of the men a sanction to (the work) of the lay reader."[29] It was merely a routine Episcopal Visitation to an isolated part of the Diocese.

The party then went to the San Sebastian Indian Reservation at the base of the Tehachapi Mountains in the San Joaquin Valley. There Major Townsend conducted an official inspection. The 300 Reservation Indians had recently been joined by some 700 visiting Indians from throughout the region; all were taking part in the annual observance of the Dog Feast. The white visitors stopped at the Indian camp briefly while en route to the home of the Indian Agent. Later in the evening, the men spent several hours at the Indian camp observing the general conditions, some games and the dancing and other rituals of the feast. They paid particular attention to the commemoration of those who had died during the previous year. Dancers re-enacted the death experience of their departed fellows. A few small possessions of the deceased were disinterred and ritually burned. Watching with fascination, the visitors had brief glimpses of the lives and deaths of several members of this Indian group. Tired by the day's journey, and waiting for the evening's dancing and observances to begin, Bishop Kip took occasion for a rest in one of the makeshift Indian dwellings. This gentleman of the old New York aristocracy lay on the ground surrounded both by a strange people speaking a strange language and a wholly alien culture, and mused about the radical change which had taken place in his life:

> As I lay there, looking up to the roof above me, made of tula (sic) reeds, the only light being the glare of the fire before the opening of the lodge, and listening to the discordant singing of the Indians without, I could not help thinking how strange it was to find myself in such a situation in this wild country on the Pacific coast.[30]

It was indeed a remarkable change for such a man to endure.

For several days the party pressed its way through arid and unpleasant terrain. Having thoroughly described the heat, lack of vegetation and desperate search for water, in a succeeding journal entry, the Bishop lamely recorded: "The country was of the same character as yesterday, sandy and desolate." On the afternoon of the third day they arrived at the Tulare River where they refreshed themselves and met Mr. and Mrs. Goodhue, who lived nearby. Major Townsend arranged for the party to take tea with the Goodhues, only to be greatly annoyed by the Bishop's refusal to impose in this way. The Bishop's sense of propriety was assuaged only when Mr. Goodhue came to the camp to deliver an invitation personally. He invited them to both tea and supper. Yet, privations and personal comfort factors notwithstanding, Bishop Kip adamantly refused the offer of bedding overnight at the Goodhue home; he returned with the party to the riverside camp. He had been greatly surprised to find, in this wilderness, a warm, generous, and refined couple which "gave us a capital tea, at which they presided with a dignity not often seen in 'the States.'" This was in great contrast to the succeeding night's resting place which the Bishop categorized as "this malarious atmosphere." The journey between the Indian reservation and Fort Miller, near present-day Fresno, was arduous and unpleasant.[31]

About mid-day on Sunday October 21, the party arrived at Millerton, the town associated with Fort Miller. It was a town Major Townsend said was "no place for decent men to stop," while Bishop Kip said its population "seemed to be given up entirely to dissipation." Yet they were hospitably received at the Fort, where the Bishop conducted Sunday services, appointed a layreader, and remained for a short time, "resting from the fatigue of our journey." Bidding Major Townsend farewell, the party then took a small stage which "had recently penetrated as far as Fort Miller," To Snelling's, a place some 70 miles distant where larger and more permanent stage lines met.[32]

For the first time Kip expressly recorded his gratitude for safe return. He was conforted by the knowledge that all his goals for the trip had been accomplished and he could now speak with accurate knowledge of the situation in Los Angeles. Aware that the mountain and Valley areas, through which he had struggled, would not soon be settled by large numbers of people, the Bishop was pleased to note that he would "never again be obliged to travel the same route we did on this occasion."[33]

The journey had called upon Kip's own sacramental ministry in small and isolated communities throughout the southern part of California. It also gave him familiarity with the people and terrain in order that he might make informed judgments as regards future missionary work to be done. While testing his own mettle, it gave him a clear sense of the difficulties and privations confronting functioning missionaries around the Diocese. Lest there remain any doubt in his mind, it confirmed the marked difference between life in a cultivated and settled East Coast state and that of California.

California's Indians were also prospective recipients of missionary endeavor. It was, therefore, necessary for the Bishop to determine whether or not to allocate the limited resources toward evangelization of the many tribes around the State. In formulating his judgment, William Ingraham Kip drew upon his knowledge of Eastern Indians, as well as recent contacts with California's Indians; to these materials he added historical evidence drawn from the experiences of the Roman Catholic padres of the California Mission System.

The life style and personality traits of the Indians Kip had seen were an offense to him. Likely he held the common view of the Indian as a hostile creature.[34] Any remaining romantic notions regarding the joys and freedoms of living in "the state of nature" in an Indian village were dispelled during the family's trip through the Old Northwest. After visiting one crowded Indian camp, he spoke of "the indescribable noisome smell which is inseparable from the Indian race -- the filth and the vermin."[35] Observations of California Indians left him even more disturbed. He saw them ekeing out a bare existence by gathering acorns, insects, and doing some hunting. They were usually nearly naked. Whereas settlers in the Old Northwest completely trusted local Indians, travelers in California carefully protected their goods against anticipated Indian attempts to steal those possessions. As with the Indians of the East, Kip found California's Indians filthy. Finally, he found the entire Indian population of California "marked by a native indolence of character and want of all independent spirit."[36] William Ingraham Kip neither saw, nor anticipated, anything of benefit to the human race emerging from the American Indian.

On several occasions, Kip observed and commended the Indian reverence for the dead. In Michigan he heard Indian complaints against Anglo-Saxon desecration of the old Indian burial grounds. In dedicating a San Francisco cemetery, he echoed that travail by commiserating with the Indian in the face of this, "the sorest trial of all." From California he wrote to Eastern readers of the various observances for the dead among the California Indians.[37] Though these observances were strange by Kip's standards, he reported them carefully and without hint of disapproval.

Historical evidence permitted Kip to assess the relative success of the Catholic missions among the Indians of California. It was his understanding that the Indians were often "converted" by a variety of coercive techniques, and that their catechetical instruction extended little beyond the rudiments of ritualism. He concluded that there was virtually no spiritual gain to the Indians involved. There was no substantial and enduring Catholic Indian population. On one occasion he saw Indians playing the violin as they had at a Mission, and singing songs in a manner reminiscent of the chants of the Latin Mass.[38] This was the only instance in which Bishop Kip pointed to the lasting effects of the Catholic missionary work among the Indians. He found it an unimpressive result.

In an effort to assess fully the missionary potential among the Indians, the Bishop also directed his attention to the future. As early as 1850, he expressed the belief that the Indian and his culture would be "swept away."[39] In California he concluded that those tribes with which the early Catholic missionaries had been in contact were "rapidly fading away and soon will be gone forever." Elsewhere he observed that in the conflict between white settlers and the nomadic and primitive Indians, the Indians were "subjected to outrages from our wild frontier settlers which must soon end in their extermination."[40] Without any hint of the time factor, Kip expressed the firm opinion that in the foreseeable future the American Indian would cease to exist. This opinion must have been an important factor as he considered the prospect of missions among the California Indians.

Ultimately, Bishop Kip decided that there was no prospect of success among the Indians of Central and Southern California. The most enthusiastic and hopeful opinion he could express was that "the experiment might be tried on one of the Northern Reservations, where a better class of Indians are collected."[41] By such a qualified statement, he clearly implied doubts as to the potential for success even among the tribes of the Northern part of the State. In view of his examination and assessment of the situation, with reference to the Indians, Bishop Kip ceased to consider actively the prospect of establishing a mission to the Indians of his Diocese.

While the characteristics and actions of the generally disorderly populace of California troubled Kip deeply, he found no solace in the more highly reputed members of the society of San Francisco. It remained a disorderly city with a thin veneer of the forms and structures of stable government. In November, 1855 the notorious gambler Charles Cora fatally shot William H. Richardson, U. S. Marshal for the Northern District of California. It was widely reported that Richardson had loudly stated he was unarmed. James King of William, Editor of San Francisco's Bulletin, repeatedly suggested that the City's political machine intended to use various forms of chicanery to secure Cora's release. Even before Cora was tried, his employer, a notorious gambler was named Richardson's replacement. Cora was not convicted of murder, but was jailed for a minor offense. While James King of William took the editorial stance of an irate reformer, public anger remained at a high, but static level. In this tense and difficult situation, James King of William angrily attacked San Francisco Supervisor James P. Casey, a one-time inmate of New York's Sing Sing State Prison, and widely believed to have secured "election" to the Board of Supervisors as a result of ballot box stuffing. Casey went to the Bulletin office where he expressed his anger to King, and later waylaid King on the street where he fatally shot him. The resulting public outrate led to the re-assembly of remaining members of the leadership of the Vigilance Committee of 1851 and thereby the leadership of the Vigilance Committee of 1856 was constituted and organized. The Committee numbered members and supporters in the thousands, and with that strength, it tried and hanged Cora and Casey, and tried and banished other men with bad reputations. The Committee conducted its business with the enthusiastic support of most newspapers and clergy throughout the City. We have no evidence of Kip's position as order--though not necessarily law--returned to the City; the Committee prepared to disband. However, on July 24, 1856 a gambler named Joseph Hetherington shot Dr. Andrew Randall. This event renewed the public belief that the Committee was still needed.[42]

In addition to being condemned for the murder of Dr. Randall, it appears that Hetherington also was held to account for an 1853 killing of a Dr. Baldwin, of which he had been acquitted by the lawfully constituted courts, and for his generally bad reputation. At the same time, the Committee tried and condemned Philander Brace for two 1854 murders.[43] On July 27, Bishop Kip conducted the funeral of Dr. Andrew Randall at Lone Mountain Cemetery.[44] Two days later several clergymen, including Bishop Kip, visited Brace and endured his cursing, defiance and contempt. The Bishop also visited Joseph Hetherington, who received him with gratitude and cordiality. The two men spent most of the day together as Kip sought to prepare Hetherington for his fatal visit to the gallows that evening. At the time of execution, Hetheringtom seemed composed and secure in the belief that he was Heaven-bound.[45] Thus, in a few short days, Bishop Kip, ever mediator and peacemaker, found himself ministering to both victim and murderer in an extremely tense and volatile San Francisco.

From mid-May to mid-August the Vigilance Committee ruled San Francisco, circumventing the established judicial system, and forcing both the Governor of California and the President of the United States to face the issue of whether or not to commit armed troops to the restoration of the established legal processes.[46] Notwithstanding the monumental quality of these events, and his own active ministry in the midst of them, William Ingraham Kip made but brief and vague reference to the situation as he wrote for public purposes. Less than a month after the demise of the Vigilance Committee he said the missionary endeavor throughout California was hampered by an economic depression, and added mildly, "San Francisco, too, has been the scene of an intense excitement."[47]

Even at the Diocesan Convention many months later, where all the delegates knew the details of these events, he made but veiled reference to the experiences. He spoke of the "peculiar circumstances" and "A local difficulty occurring at San Francisco during the last Spring." Assessing the City's mood during the Committee's life, Kip said that "men's minds were for months wrought up to the highest point of excitement." However, such simple references would, in this audience, provoke detailed recollections and allow the Bishop to proceed to his policy statement. Reminding his listeners that in "all these excitements, the (Episcopal) Church alone stood aloof," and that "she takes no part in the passing excitements of the day," he concluded with the strongest possible and most direct urging: "So, my Brethren of the Clergy, let it ever be." Coupled with this argument was Kip's implicit analysis of the impending National sectional crisis as he affirmed the belief that in this experience California had discovered that "in the discharge of our sacred functions, there is no North and no South."[48] Though alert to surrounding political, social and economic conditions, Bishop Kip firmly believed in an absolute separation between the religious and secular affairs of men. The clergy, in his view, were to maintain an absolute aloofness from secular affairs even in the face of a Vigilance Committee or a potential conflict between North and South.

A weariness of mind, body and spirit descended upon William Ingraham Kip; Elizabeth Sewell's prediction had come true, the Kip family was in exile "on this outpost." Surrounded by irreligion and transiency, yet he embraced California as "my Cross" and "the mental trials of founding the Ch(urch) here."[49]

The sense of exile must have been increased by the arduous quality of Kip's missionary and Episcopal endeavors outside San Francisco. Some visitation journeys were particularly arduous--such as the journey through Los Angeles, Fort Tejon and Fort Miller. However, more typical was the nine day period from November 7 through November 15, 1856. He began by taking the steamer to Sacramento, where he consecrated the church, conducted a private confirmation service and later preached at a public confirmation service. Taking an early morning steamer for Marysville, low water forced him to disembark before reaching his destination and make hasty alternate transportation arrangements in order to keep his appointment. In Marysville, he preached, baptized and met with the Vestry. Early the next morning he left by stage for Grass Valley where he preached and confirmed. The following day, he went to Nevada City where he preached at an evening service, and returned "on the mountainside and through the primeval forest" for a late night rest. Travelling to Auburn the next day, he preached there and assisted local residents in organizing a vestry and parish. After another all-day stage ride, he conducted a confirmation service in Folsom where he also preached. From Folsom he took the morning train to Sacramento, where he made connections with the San Francisco steamer, reaching home late in the evening.[50] The physical and emotional drain of such rapid travel and constant demands must have been great.

The drain of time and constant motion was exacerbated by the often dangerous quality of Kip's means of travel. On one stage ride into the Mother Lode country nine persons rode inside the coach, with eight and the driver on the outside;

such crowding was common. Kip's travelling companions were usually a rough and unpleasant lot. Frequently all passengers were obliged to leave a stage and trudge up steep and rocky hills, while the horses pulled the driver and empty stage up the incline. Regarding one ride, the Bishop complained that the twelve passengers were "cramped up so that we could hardly move, the thermometer at 103°, and clouds of dust suffocating us." Often his wife Maria joined the Bishop on his difficult travels. On one such trip she was made particularly nervous as the stage made its way up a steep and narrow grade. At a waystation the Bishop asked an employee to reassure Mrs. Kip. The Bishop listened in dismay as the man calmly told Maria "...we haven't killed more than one woman in a week" on the grade. The ride on the river steamer damaged by the walking beam accident was another harrowing experience.[51] These are but a few examples of the dangers and difficulties encountered in a single year. When we recall other dangers the Bishop encountered, including the shipwreck en route to San Francisco, it is easy to imagine that in his own experiences the Bishop must have seen a parallel to those of St. Paul, the great Apostolic missionary.[52]

As compared with the rest of the Episcopal Church, the Church in California was peculiarly beset by the difficulty of supplying clergy to the parishes of the Diocese. This must have been another factor emphasizing the isolated and exilic quality of Kip's assignment to this missionary work. Bishop Kip expressed doubts as to the value and propriety of his own style of rural missionary work. He realized that he was exciting the hopes of many, only to dissappoint them by his inability to supply regular clergy leadership.[53] Conscious of the presence of thousands of adventurous gold-seekers, he was appalled by the realization that the Church counted her workers in mere tens. Moreover, he bemoaned the lack of self-denial and self-sacrifice among Church workers. Furthermore, he was greatly disheartened by the extended delay occasioned by the slow communications between the Pacific and Atlantic Coasts, making it extremely difficult to secure speedily the needed missionary clergy.[54] In the face of this dearth of clergy, it was more than two and a half years after his arrival in San Francisco that Bishop Kip first ordained a man to the priesthood.[55]

Among those clergy who came to California, the Bishop found some undesireable. One, the Reverend Joseph S. Large, came to to serve as Rector of Saint John's Church, Stockton. Some time after May 8, 1856 the Bishop suspended him from the exercise of the priesthood. The suspension was still in effect on February 5, 1857, yet before May 6, he was returned to "good standing" and transferred to the canonical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Indiana.[56] There is little doubt that Kip felt himself isolated from the mainstream of the Episcopal Church and unique in the House of Bishops in the matter of having clergy available to augment his own missionary endeavors.

It is no wonder that Kip considered himself in exile. It was necessary for him to make frequent and difficult journeys attended with threats of bodily harm and death. He made implicit promises of missionary support for his own far-ranging activities, and then found the clergy supply wanting and quality questionable. The State was turbulent and San Francisco perhaps its most unsettled city. Beset by "dispondency (sic) and sickness of heart," he found his former life in New York "a dream."[57]

Part of Kip's efforts were directed to regularizing the relationship between the Diocese of California and the larger Episcopal Church. At the 1856 Diocesan Convention he reminded the delegates that California's application for admission to the General Convention had been rejected in 1853, and he advised the Convention to take steps "to remove the obstacles which then prevented this desirable measure." The proposed Diocesan Constitution contained the necessary clauses and was speedily adopted.[58] Though parochial and Diocesan needs required Kip's continued presence in California, he was careful to see that his report, as Missionary Bishop, was submitted to the General Convention of 1856.[59] In the official report on the state of the Diocese, submitted by the Reverend Christopher B. Wyatt, a clerical delegate to the General Convention, it was reported that Bishop Kip "had decided to recognize the existing Diocese, and at once applied all his efforts to complete and expand the organization already begun."[60] With these official reports and a mass of informal information at hand, the Diocese of California was admitted to the General Convention on October 4, the fourth day of proceedings.[61] By this action, the Diocese of California was given the right to select its own Bishop, and Kip's situation became tenuous at best.

Those outside the Episcopal Church assumed that William Ingraham Kip would continue to be the Episcopal Bishop in California; however, his selection as Diocesan Bishop was not a certainty. At the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Kip's consecration as Bishop, he delivered a retrospective historical address in which he claimed that the progress and growth of the Diocese "had been accomplished without awakening any opposition."[62] It was a frequent refrain of the Bishop's. However, this was but a thin gloss over several unpleasant events.

In summary, Kip called his term as Missionary Bishop "years of trial and apparently unrequited toil."[63] While "trial" was occasioned by the difficult secular environment within which Bishop Kip functioned, it seems that problems peculiar to the membership of the Diocese of California added an important dimension to these feelings of Kip.

Throughout the difficult period of Vigilante justice, the Episcopal Church maintained a stance of untroubled, placid impartiality for which it drew public commendation.[64] Yet, internally trouble brewed. After the Diocesan Convention of 1856 Bishop Kip discovered various proposals afoot which would adversely affect his continuing relationship to the Diocese.

Though Kip's general inclination was to avoid conflict, he believed the schemes such a serious threat that, "I felt it necessary to crush them out." As a result, the Reverend Joseph S. Large "was presented for trial for falsehood and slander, and was suspended from the ministry," on the basis of "full proof of the conspiracy."[65] We know nothing of the content of Large's "slander," but it must have been deeply painful to Bishop Kip. Even in a deeply personal and private letter to his friend, Bishop Whittingham, Kip mentioned only "trials by false witness," without specification and added, "I can talk about it to you when we meet."[66] During this time, Maria Kip was also a victim of attack. About a year after the ecclesiastical trial of Large, and about four months following the special Diocesan Convention at which Kip was elected Bishop of the Diocese, he wrote that Maria's "nervous system has been broken down," adding: "She may thank some of the San Franciscan people for this attack. It was her initiation into abuse." The difficulty seems to have been ecclesiastically inspired, not political, social or cultural, since the Bishop noted, "she considers herself the first martyr to the Ch. in California."[67] Whether or not the "slander" concerned Maria, the "abuse" which she endured added dimension to the difficulty of the Bishop's situation.

Because of the strength of the plots and jealousies among the clergy, and the unusual pressures at play on the Bishop,many of the Churchmen of the Diocese considered it important to call a Special Convention for the purpose of electing a Diocesan Bishop. The Reverend J. Avery Shepherd later said, "It fell to my lot, to take the initiative in calling the convention," because as the owner-teacher of a private school in San Francisco, he was not a necessary participant in the ecclesiastical politics of the Diocese. While some might question the need for a Special Convention a few short months before the regular Diocesan Convention, Dr. Shepherd recalled that "a peculiar emergency was threatening to arise -- namely -- the election of a permanent Bishop -- over the Missionary Bishop Kip".[68]

A petition for a Special Diocesan Convention was widely circulated, and was equally widely signed. Three clergy did not sign the petition: Kip, who was unaware of the petition,[69] Large, who was under suspension, and Christopher B. Wyatt, Rector of Trinity Church, San Francisco. Laymen from all but two churches also signed the petition; the exceptions were St. John's Church, Fremont, and Trinity Church, San Francisco. When the Convention met on February 5, 1857, two congregations (St. John's, Fremont, and St. John's, Oakland) were represented only by their clergy, while both the Church of the Sacraments, Sacramento, and Trinity Church, San Francisco, lacked both clergy and lay representation.[70] Only one congregation had neither clergy nor lay participation at any point in the process of calling the Convention or electing the Bishop: Trinity Church, San Francisco.

The apparent aloofness of Trinity Church is understandable if we recognize the probability that it was the center of the opposition to Bishop Kip. The petition originated in San Francisco, so it would not have been difficult to approach lay members of the Trinity Congregation. Either all the petitioners accidentally failed to approach Trinity's members, while being careful to approach all the other parishes in the Diocese, or parishioners at Trinity Church were known to oppose the move, or had directly refused to sign the petition. In any event, there was an implicit gulf between Trinity Church and the bulk of the Diocese. Writing of the fracas with Joseph Large, Bishop Kip said "the other two who were involved with him, left the Diocese."[71] While the February Special Convention Journal listed Wyatt as Rector of Trinity Church San Francisco, the Journal of the regular Convention in May says the Rectorship of Trinity Church was vacant. In his annual report Bishop Kip mentioned the departure of three clergy: the Reverend James W. Capen, who was "obliged to leave this coast on account of the failing health of his wife," and Horace L. E. Pratt and Christopher B. Wyatt.[72] In a departure from his usual style, Bishop Kip neither explained nor lamented the departure of the latter two. While not conclusive, the evidence suggests that Pratt and Wyatt were viewed by Kip co-conspirators with Large in an attempt to displace William Ingraham Kip.

At the Special Convention itself, Kip was unanimously elected Diocesan Bishop. An observer at the Sacramento Convention commented that this must have been "a full compensation for many of the strange and severe trials which he has been called upon to encounter during the past twelve months." Expressing gratitude for what was essentially a vote of confidence, Bishop Kip informed the delegates that it would be several months before he could determine whether or not to accept election.[73]

Because it had been assumed that Kip would continue as Bishop of the Diocese, and his interest in education was widely known, the ecclesiastically-oriented and ecumenical Board of Trustees of the young and struggling College of California -- the origin of the present University of California -- had unanimously elected the Bishop a Member of the Board. Kip accepted with pleasure and vowed to do "anything in my power to advance the interests of the Institution."[74] He served as a member of the Board through 1859.[75] Judging by his attendance at meetings of the Board of Trustees, Kip appears to have been rather inactive, and less than enthusiastic. On December 23, he attended the morning meeting, but was absent from the evening session. He attended no meetings during 1857, two of the five meetings in 1858, and none of the six meetings in 1859.[76] In reports of his official Episcopal activities, it appears that on at least four such occasions the Bishop was in the midst of visitations journeys. Apparently the difficulties of serving as both Diocesan Bishop and frequent parish pastor, consumed so much time as to make it impossible for Kip to serve regularly and effectively as an active member of the College's Board of Trustees.

During 1857 seven and a half months were consumed by a visit to the Atlantic Coast. During his travels, Bishop Kip maintained a tally of the assents to his election by the Bishops and Standing Committees of the other Dioceses in the American Church -- a majority of which were required to approve his election and permit his taking office. As early as May 20 he expressed the hope that "this thing will go through."[77] Yet it was not until July 15 that he wrote a formal letter of acceptance to the Diocese of California.[78] Ultimately the assents totaled 27 Bishops and 25 Standing Committees, while dissents included one bishop and the Standing Committees of Indiana (where Joseph S. Large was then ecclesiastically resident), Maryland and Georgia. We have no indication as to the basis of the several dissents. Yet when all was done and said, Kip had taken an irrevocable step which he evaluated as:

> assuming a task surrounded with difficulties of which they who live in a settled state of society cannot conceive, it was also placing perhaps a final barrier between myself and all the clinging ties and associations of my former life.[79]

Financial considerations were paramount at the regular Diocesan Convention of 1857. In his annual address, Bishop Kip noted that on his arrival in California there were two parishes with ministers, while at the time of this Convention, there were eight parishes with ministers and a number of sites with regular services and the occasional ministrations of the clergy. He reminded the delegates that this growth was achieved in spite of "the financial embarrassments of the state." Equally aware of the financial realities, a Select Committee chosen at the recent Special Convention issued a report with observations and recommendations concerning the Episcopate in California, and with important implicit and explicit financial dimensions. Acknowledging that Bishop Kip had received annual income from both the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions and from Grace Church, San Francisco, it was asserted that the same level of income would continue to be necessary "to save our Diocese from actual pecuniary loss." Specific recommendations included the following: 1) that the Diocese support a permanent assistant at Grace Church to permit the Bishop greater free time for visitations, 2) implementation of the Diocesan Canon providing for an Episcopal Fund, and, 3) required semi-annual collections for the support of the Episcopal Fund. The Convention concurred in these recommendations and implemented semi-annual collections for the Episcopal Fund, appointing Trustees for those monies.[80] In view of the depressed economic conditions in California, and Kip's need for a substantial income, the Domestic Committee was requested to continue his missionary salary.[81] Of course, Kip took no part in these actions because he was en route to the Atlantic States, and had not yet formally accepted election as Diocesan Bishop.[82]

During his absence, Bishop Kip left Grace Church in the care of its Assistant Minister, the Reverend Ferdinand C. Ewer.[83] The two men had known each other for about two years and they had become increasingly close as Kip had become more active in the supervision of Ewer's progress toward the ordained ministry. On several occasions in 1853 Ewer spoke to the Reverend Mr. Wyatt about entering the ministry; these conversations were not productive. Finally, in December Wyatt suggested that Ewer talk with the newly elected Missionary Bishop upon his arrival. It was more than a year later before Ewer called on Bishop Kip. In a confessionally-oriented interview, Ewer spoke of his interest in the ministry and the evils of his previous life. In August, he applied, through Wyatt, for the Standing Committee of the Diocese to admit him to the list of Postulants for the ministry. Less than a month later the Committee voted to table his papers, and so he angrily requested that Wyatt withdraw them.

Next Ewer determined to be theologically literate and an active layman, and therefore asked Mr. Wyatt to recommend a beginner's work in theology. In a tragically comedic episode, Ewer was referred back and forth between Wyatt and the Bishop seeking simple advice on suitable reading. After two visits to Wyatt and two to the Bishop, Kip informed him "he could have nothing to do with me and that Mr. Wyatt _must_ attend to the matter." Finally Wyatt conceded and made a recommendation. Some months later Kip stopped Ewer on the streets and inquired as to his desire to enter the ordained ministry. When Ewer responded affirmatively, the Bishop prepared the necessary applications and had them signed by all parties except the Rector and Vestry of Trinity Church. After Ewer secured those signatures, the Standing Committee of the Diocese quickly approved the application. On March 25, 1857 Ewer took his final examination for ordination to the diaconate in the study of the Kip Home. He was ordained to the diaconate in Grace Church on April 5.[84] The following Sunday Ewer officiated at the regular services in Grace Church.[85]

Just before his ordination Ewer had proposed that he remain as an employee of the U. S. Customs House, and establish a Free Church by personally hiring, outfitting and using a hall near Third and Howard Streets in San Francisco. Bishop Kip rejected the proposal and suggested Ewer take charge of the parish in Petaluma. Then two days after conducting his first services at Grace Church, Ewer was elected Assistant Minister of that Parish, though he had no knowledge of this until the Bishop visited him at his office in the Customs House on April 16. Four days later he took complete charge of the Parish until the Bishop's return from the East Coast.[86]

With the Rectorship of Trinity Church vacant, and San Francisco's other two clergy (Drs. Shepherd and Ver Mehr) tending to the affairs of their respective schools, the caretaker was the only full-time Episcopal parish clergyman in San Francisco. With his departure for the East pressing, we can understand why Bishop Kip proceeded to Ewer's ordination with a degree of haste uncharacteristic of his general demeanor. Remarkable speed is also demonstrated in the selection of Ewer as temporary successor to the Bishop, in his parochial responsibilities. Limited background and the brief duration of his studies suggests that Ewer embarked on his duties somewhat ill-prepared. Nearly two years later he asked Bishop Kip to clarify the Episcopal position with regard to the remarriage of divorced persons. In describing his ordination service Ewer had been unable to describe the Bishop's gowns because he did not know their names.[87] So, it would appear that Ewer embarked on his duties with earnestness and the desire to serve, but with little academic or practical preparation, and even less advanced notice.

Ewer's rapid initiation to the work of a parish clergyman brought forth his great and varied skills which enabled him to function with great success. As a result, Bishop Kip immediately resigned when he returned from his Eastern trip, and Ewer was immediately elected Rector.[88] Some years later, as a leading High Church theologian in New York City, Ewer became the center of a storm of controversy. By that time, he had thoroughly mastered Anglican principles and practices.[89]

The Kip family returned to the East Coast to permit William Ingraham to complete necessary business arrangements.[90] We know nothing of those business affairs which awaited his attention, but he did engage in activities to further the interests of his immediate family. He lodged "Willie", his younger son and frequent travelling companion, at Yale University, making all necessary arrangements for his welfare.[91]

Bishop Kip also took steps to further the military career of his elder son, Lawrence. Because he was not a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, Lawrence was not guaranteed an officer's commission; commissions for nongraduates were routinely secured when desire was augmented by political pressure. On several occasions, the Bishop spoke directly with the Secretary of War. At other times a confidant in the Secretary's Office -- likely Edward Townsend, with whom he had taken the lengthy tour of Southern and Central California -- kept the Bishop informed as to the latest rumors and events in the scramble for Army commissions.[92] Several months later the Bishop wrote Thurlow Weed and Senator William H. Seward, both of whom he had known during his Rectorship in Albany.[93] As late as the day before leaving on his return to California, the Bishop was suggesting means of pressure and strategy to those who had become involved in what was by now a matter of equity for an entire West Point class.[94] Nonetheless, he departed secure in the knowledge that Lawrence was then on active duty with the Third Artillery on Governor's Island, New York.[95] The public Kip would have nothing to do with politics, while the private Kip was prepared to make use of political pressure.

In addition to devoting attention to the health problem of Maria, and the various needs of his sons, Bishop Kip worked to advance the interests of the Diocese of California throughout the time of his visit to the East. Reporting about his trip, he said briefly: "I endeavored ... to inculcate upon our brethren at the East, the need there was of strenuous effort to plant the Gospel and the Church on these shores."[96] The family reached New York City on May 13 and the Bishop was almost immediately beset by public encouragement that he accept the office of Diocesan Bishop.[97]

Bishop Kip maintained a busy travel schedule throughout his tour. He went to Baltimore where he attended and preached at the Diocesan Convention. He then spent several weeks visiting friends in Albany, stopping briefly at West Point on his way to Albany. Returning to New Haven, where Maria was confined to the house for reasons of health, the Bishop stopped again at West Point where he met with the Secretary of War. On June 25, he delivered the commencement sermon at the General Theological Seminary in New York. A few days later Kip and the Right Reverend Horatio Southgate -- a bishop without jurisdiction -- attended the Diocesan Convention in Portland, Maine. For two and a half months the church journals are silent as to Bishop Kip's activities; it is possible that the Bishop and Maria spent this period in quiet relaxation. It must have been with mixed feelings of exile and success that Bishop Kip attended and preached at the Convention of his beloved Diocese of New York from September 30 through October 2. Remaining in New York City for several weeks, he attended the annual meeting of the Board of Missions. This was an excellent forum in which to make his pleas for the support of the missionary work of the Diocese of California. Spending several days in Baltimore during early November, the Bishop officiated in several churches and was to conduct departure worship services for a Colonization Society ship which would take freed Blacks to Africa. He then moved on to Philadelphia where he proposed to preach in three churches on the same day. Yet another period in New Haven allowed him to bid goodbye to his younger son. Though it had been a busy trip, he later said the tour was "unavoidably protracted far beyond my original intentions."[98]

In two major sermons -- those at the Maryland Diocesan Convention and the General Theological Seminary Commencement -- Bishop Kip struck a common theme. He spoke of the need for self-denial among believers, and enduring faithfulness in the face of trials. They were perhaps at once a plea for the future of the Church and a spiritual autobiography. In general yet foreboding terms, the Bishop warned young seminary graduates of the many trials and conflicts which would face them in their various places of ministry. He reminded them that Jesus sent his immediate Apostles forth to endure trials and tribulations and that St. Paul also experienced great difficulties as a result of his faith. He warned each young graduate that though "it seemed to him that men could not reject the proffered boon, and that when he should speak those mighty truths in their ears, he should see the hearts of many melt," yet people were not to be so easily persuaded and converted. Pressing the point even farther, Kip spoke of the "wild, rolling current of worldliness by which all are swept along." In this tide, he said, even the minister was swept along. Having found himself frequently and publicly troubled by the lack of "success" in the Church's work in California, Kip observed that the time of greatest temptation for the minister was when "his labors were not crowned with the anticipated success." With temptations in mind, the Bishop spoke of the need for dedication and spiritual integrity. In both New York and Baltimore he spoke of the need for Scriptural nurture of the faith. To the more diverse audience in Maryland, he decried "the parent complacently waiting" for the faith of their children to be developed apart from their own efforts and initiative. Displaying some slight Evangelical tendencies, Kip spoke of the minister's need to be "baptised with the Holy Ghost." Drawing both upon the insights of the High Church faction and the Evangelical faction, he condemned "the sickly superficial thing that was sometimes called conversion," expressing deep sadness that "a few sighs and regrets and outward changes were pronounced a turning toward God." But he affirmed the need for a depth of repentance and enduring conversion. Finally, to both audiences, he urged the willing acceptance of a spirit of self-denial.[99] The anguish of the Bishop's personal letters, and especially his sense of isolation, exile and trial in California seem to have been important factors in the common message he shared with Episcopalians on the Atlantic Coast.

The trip back to San Francisco was attended with certain difficulties. Mindful of the recent sinking of a similar, but larger vessel, Kip discovered that the 760 passengers aboard represented perhaps double the reasonable capacity of the ship. Writing from shipboard, he said that people were "crowded together like cattle in pens." The voyage from New York to Panama was beset by severe seasickness, numerous deaths from yellow fever, and a serious fire below decks. Expressing fear for his own life, the Bishop spoke of "Death stalking through our vessel."[100] Of course, the Kips were pleased when they arrived in San Francisco on December 16 safe and free from illness.[101]

During the year following his return to California, Kip devoted his attention to the routine but unspectacular work of nurturing the small and struggling congregations throughout the Diocese. The paramount issue he confronted was to maintain regular clerical functioning in the parishes of the Diocese. Shortly after George B. Taylor, a former Methodist minister, had been ordained deacon, Bishop Kip joined in a visit to Petaluma, where he settled Taylor as the pastor of the newly established Episcopal parish.[102] The needs were great, and it was therefore not possible to proceed with greater caution and provide for a period of carefully supervised internship. The next month Kip prodded dispirited parishioners in Oakland into accepting another rector in the hopes that this would not be yet another short-lived pastoral relationship.[103]

In San Francisco, without the responsibilities of being a parish rector, Kip assumed the role of missionary. He and the Reverend Mr. Ewer alternated weekly in the conduct of services for what became the Church of the Advent. It appears the congregation was composed of "those who desire to be connected here with an Evangelical Episcopal Church in distinction from the High Church Episcopalians."[104] This willingness to function for an Evangelical group is ample demonstration of Kip's impartial and catholic stance in matters of churchmanship, though he personally remained a High Churchman. In a confirmation sermon at the Church of the Advent, Kip echoed many of the comments he had made while on the East Coast. He urged the confirmands to maintain a depth of faith and clear public witness thereof. In speaking of the "trials" of the life of faith, he made reference to "the weariness of our welfare," and mentioned "the great and terrible wilderness" to be endured.[105]

In yet another echo of the message he had shared on the East Coast, Bishop Kip reminded the Diocesan Convention of the difficulties of making definite commitments to potential clergy of the Diocese and reiterated the need for self-denial.[106] In June, he gave an excellent example of such self-denial as he discovered the Church in Coloma, purchased at a cost of $7,000, was to be sold by the Vestry for the $2,000 which would precisely meet the outstanding debts. Using his own private funds, the Bishop "interferred to help".[107]

The discovery of gold in the Fraser River District of British Columbia provoked a gold rush akin to the California Gold Rush, attracting many adventurers who were still in California. The movement and rapid departure of large numbers of people created a situation in California which Kip termed a "whirlwind." While hopeful gold-seekers were en route to British Columbia, others had already gone, found disappointment, and were returning to California. In the midst of this confusion, and with an inadequate number of clergy, Bishop Kip struggled to identify those towns which had the greatest prospect for stability and future growth so that he might allocate precious and limited resources to the parishes in those places.

With insightful and keen analytic judgment he decided that California was at a point of transition from a mobile, mining camp-oriented State to a more settled agriculturally-oriented one.[108] To enhance the proper future growth of the Diocese, the Bishop settled clergy in the newer agricultural communities even when it was necessary that he augment their salaries for an initial period.[109] Of course, the Bishop continued his own missionary work in small parishes and preaching stations around the State. For example, during the summer of 1858, he officiated in six different places.[110] In all efforts and through all trials, he saw his work, and that of the Church, beset on all sides by "the absorbing worldliness which is about us."[111]

The need for clergy and the funds with which to support them was a problem which Kip faced for many years. He bemoaned the fact that Eastern Churchmen were unwilling to contribute funds for the work of the Diocese of California, based on the belief that in the "land of gold" money was freely and easily available for all needs, including those of the Church. The need for clergy, and the difficulty of the missionary task which faced them, was succinctly summarized for the Diocesan Convention:

> ...to teach the solemn truths of our faith in a Diocese nearly one thousand miles in length, where on the one side Asiatic idolatry is pouring in upon us, and on the other we have pressing on us the abominations of Mormonism, there are less than a dozen parish Ministers.[112]

Bishop Kip was aware that work in California was not very attractive to seminary graduates. The normal difficulties of arranging parish placement for willing clergy continued to be exacerbated by the distance and difficulties of communications. As a result, he made a public offering of three vacant positions, authorizing the Secretary of the Domestic Committee of th Board of Missions to hire suitable men.[113]

Once again the Bishop concluded that the needs of the Diocese prevented his attending the 1859 triennial General Convention of the Episcopal Church. William Hill, Rector of Grace Church, Sacramento, and S. Chipman Thrall, Rector of Trinity Church, San Francisco, served as clerical delegates to the Convention. Kip arranged a rotation schedule of several clergy to supply the worship and pastoral needs of the Sacramento parish. For the same four month period Kip personally supplied for the needs of Trinity Parish, San Francisco, without remuneration. Though Thrall, was a valued and trusted associate, Kip was conscious that many parishioners of Trinity Church were not enthusiastic supporters of his own ministry. In a touch of wry humor, he termed his call to the temporary charge of Trinity Church "the chances and changes of this mortal life." Keenly aware of the previous sense of disaffection, during the time of Christopher Wyatt's Rectorship, he refused renumeration "to put myself in the most unimpeachably dignified position."[114] Thus, the pastoral effects and dimensions of a small and geographically dispersed body of clergy made it necessary that the Bishop again forego occupying his seat in the House of Bishops, as he had abstained in 1856.

During this time Bishop Kip had several health problems.

While out riding near San Francisco, in early December, 1858, his horse was scared by the noise of a loose bridge plank, reared, and fell backwards over the edge of the bridge. Horse and rider fell twelve feet into four feet of water. For several days he had some pain from the injury, though neither serious injury nor illness resulted from the fall. In a February visitation to Marysville, the Bishop caught cold. He continued on his visitation to Stockton, and en route to San Francisco experienced attacks of "neuralgia" in the site of the injury sustained in the riding accident. The two attacks, one of four and the other of five hours' duration, Kip termed "the most intense agony I ever suffered." It was a month before he was able to resume his duties.[115]

Financial difficulties also confronted Kip. With fourteen clergy and twenty congregations, the total annual income for the Diocese and parishes combined was less than $38,000.[116] This relatively slim amount had to pay mortgages, salaries and other expenses for all the parishes, clergy and the Bishop. Even in the face of these slim resources, the Diocesan Convention resolved to assess proportionally all parishes to provide $250 monthly support for Bishop Kip. Because Kip was no longer the incumbent of any parish, he no longer had any local ecclesiastical income, and the money was needed. However, in view of the economic realities, Bishop Kip requested that the assessment collections be omitted for the year.[117] He did not cancel the obligation, merely the collection.

California society at large was rapidly becoming settled and more mature. A cultivated and culturally-oriented social elite began to coalesce in San Francisco. In company with others of this class, the Kips purchased a home near Second and Harrison Streets in the Rincon Hill area, overlooking San Francisco Bay. It has accurately been said of the family names in the area that "the army, the navy, the church, the law were all represented, with 'big business' bringing up an imposing rear."[118] For the first time in several years, the Kip family was once again in a cultivated and homogeneous neighborhood in which they could take some comfort. This must have made San Francisco more enjoyable and less like the "exile" it had seemed for so many years.

With a suitable home, and pleasant social environment, the Kips could feel comfortable in entertaining visiting notables. From December 27, 1859 through January 8, 1860 the Kips hosted Bishop George Hills, who was then en route to his new Diocese of British Columbia. That first evening Bishop Hills met, among others, Richard Henry Dana, the visiting author of Two Years Before the Mast, at the Kip dinner table. Based upon Dana's recent personal on-site investigation and inquiry, the men thoroughly discussed the encouraging prospects for Anglican missionary work in the Sandwich Islands. This was an opportunity for the Bishop to secure first-hand impressions and data on the Islands. Bishop Hills had ample opportunity and assistance in seeing the sights and curiosities of San Francisco. Kip took him on a visit to "Mission Dolores," and recounted the history of the Spanish Missions in California. In an apparent echo of Kip's summary views of California, Bishop Hills later spoke of California as having been populated by the kind of man who "cares for nothing, leaves civilization behind" and would willingly accept "the wild rough life with it attached." Yet he suggested the bygone quality of such a style of life by saying of California that "only with difficulty has it surmounted the difficulty."[119] This new home had already become a forum for information. Kip, who had come as Bishop to a land in the throes of a turbulent gold rush, was able to speak of his experiences and ideas to another man destined for another frontier community in the midst of a similar gold rush. Both were able to learn from the gentle conversation of a man noted in American literature, and with the first-hand knowledge of a world traveler.

The early months of 1860 were consumed by the routine duties of the Episcopal office. Kip's normal round of visitations was disturbed by two separate week-long illnesses, which were almost routine in themselves. There was an opportunity to host Bishop Scott of Oregon.[120] On May 4 he marked the official inauguration of construction on the new Grace Church by presiding at the ceremonial laying of the cornerstone.[121]

The most notable and curious event of this period brought Kip into close contact with a Roman Catholic priest. The young Italian priest, Louis Rivieccio, spent eight months studying privately with Bishop Kip. Likely this was a comparative study of the Roman and Anglican Communions, such as that which Kip and his brother-in-law, John Innes Kane, had shared many years before in Albany.[122] Finally, on April 11, 1860 Rivieccio wrote a letter to Archbishop Joseph S. Alemany expressing his dissatisfaction with the Papacy in its exercise of civil power, mentioning especially Papal tyranny and opposition to the civil unity of Italy. He also expressed unhappiness over the limitations of intellectual freedom under which the Roman Catholic clergy suffered. Further, he complained that the Roman Communion lacked the "purity of Christianity." because of the similar quality of Kip's views, as expressed many years before, it is easy to see the influence of the persuasive Episcopal mentor in the words of the young Italian priest. Having formally renounced the Roman Catholic ministry, Rivieccio joined Bishop Kip in receiving Holy Communion at the ordination of James Cameron on April 15.[123] While his name later appeared for a few years on the official clergy list of the Diocese, Rivieccio never attended a Diocesan Convention, never submitted a report of his work, and never held a recognized active relationship to the work of the Church.[124] It is strange that the Bishop would spend so much time with one man, and then have no known further dealings with him.

Symbolizing his own belief that one period in his life was now ending, Kip finished writing the autobiographical Early Days of My Episcopate on March 16.[125] Much of the material was already in print in the form of letters, reports and articles. But here the material was re-organized, integrated, expanded and reflected upon.

RT. REV. WILLIAM INGRAHAM KIP, D. D.
FIRST BISHOP OF CALIFORNIA, 1853
DIED APRIL 6, 1893

Chapter 8

Turbulence Compounded

The brief span of years from 1860 to 1865 was one in which William Ingraham Kip endured pressures and tensions from all sides, even beyond those previously endured. Both the beginning and end of the period were marked by European excursions necessitated by family responsibilities. In response to the urgent requests of the King of Hawaii, Bishop Kip worked to arrange an Anglo-American missionary venture to Hawaii. Civil War tensions invaded the Church, threatening finances and parochial unity around the State. San Francisco residents were treated to the spectacle of a brief, but locally sensational ecclesiastical trial in which the Bishop was involved. He was also faced with the day-to-day realities of maintaining the stability of Grace Church's congregation. As a result of the diminution of his national Church salary grant, and the inability of the Diocese properly to pay his salary, the Bishop faced financial pressures at the same time. Thus, while the period began with the relative innocence of the Bishop's 1860 European journey, when it ended, life had been thoroughly transformed by the burning fire of the Civil War.

The Bishop's departure for Europe in 1860 was rather simple and untroubled. During the course of his address to the Diocesan Convention, Kip mentioned his proposed absence from the Diocese, noting that "family affairs require my presence for a while in my old home." Expecting to be absent only a few months, and with no apparent intent to visit Europe, he contemplated the possibility of "circumstances over which I have no control." Extending the normal courtesies of the day, and recognizing the physical toll of accomplishing his arduous duties, the Convention resolved its best wishes to the Bishop, and that the journey would improve his health. So, on the morning of May 5, 1860, in company with some 460 other passengers, the Kips embarked on their return to New York.[1]

We know of only two public activities during the two weeks the Kips spent in New York. The Bishop addressed a special meeting of the students at the General Theological Seminary encouraging them to volunteer for the work of the Church in California; only one student showed a positive response. Also, with a view to the needs in California, Kip wrote a letter encouraging financial contributions for the support of the fledgling College of California. Professor Martin Kellogg was making an extensive tour of the Atlantic States in an effort to generate substantial financial support for the College. In the letter, the Bishop returned to a theme familiar to his Eastern acquaintances: the competition and conflict between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism made it necessary to establish Protestant schools as alternatives to existing Roman Catholic schools. In this regard, he succinctly portrayed the educational situation in California, saying there was "no college on the Pacific Coast, except the Romish institution at Santa Clara." Likely in remembrance of the abortive attempt to establish Trinity College of Larkin, the Bishop added "except through the success of this enterprise, I see no prospect of that want being supplied."[2]

One reason for the trip to the Atlantic Coast was to attend the graduation of his son, William Ingraham Kip, Jr., at Yale University.[3] As a graduation present, the Bishop decided to take his son--accompanied by the Bishop's newphew, Stephen Whitney--on a rather traditional "Grand Tour" of Europe. As a result, the few months' vacation was considerably lengthened.

During nearly seven weeks, the small party travelled rather widely in Great Britain. The Bishop was ecclesiastically active throughout England. While there is little direct information available to us about the British travels, it is clear the Bishop devoted considerable time and energy to the religious desires of the Hawaiian Royal Family.[4]

As early as the end of the first year in California, Bishop Kip demonstrated his interest in the religious situation in Hawaii. He urged both the Episcopal Church's Foreign Missionary Society and the Church of England's Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to sponsor at least one missionary priest in Honolulu.[5]

Before he had left San Francisco on this trip, Kip received a renewed request. Responding to that entreaty, he agreed to repeat his urging. While in New York, he had raised the issue, though the Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church did not consider the subject until he was en route home, many months later. It was then proposed to that Board as a resolution prepared by his brother-in-law, Bishop Burgess of Maine. During the discussion, it was noted that the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel would provide personnel, but not take charge of the endeavor. Yet the proposal seems to have died a quiet death.[6]

While seemingly simple, the idea of sending an Anglican mission to Hawaii was actually complex and thorny. Some would see such a mission as political in intent, especially if administered by the Church of England -- the State Church. There was the possibility of ugly religious bickering with the Congregational missionaries in Hawaii, and their supporters in the United States. Several years after the flurry of activities designed to begin the Anglican mission, Bishop Kip published an article summarizing his understanding of the denominational histories and dynamics in Hawaii.[7]

Bishop Kip viewed Hawaii as yet another battleground between "Puritanism" and Episcopal polity. He consistently referred to missionaries sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as "Puritans." He accused them of turning from missionary to political work, securing near monopoly control of Hawaiian industry, failing to pursue the progress of the native population, a lack of success in propagating morality and Christianity, and failing to reverse a decline in the native population. Having recounted the "Puritan" use of force to repel Roman Catholic attempts to establish a mission in Hawaii, he predicted the Protestants would depose the King and reconstruct the government to keep episcopacy out of the Kingdom. Continuing to speak with reference to the religious situation, he predicted that they would use their power "to propagate their own tenants, and to crush out whatever may present itself in opposition" -- words which when applied to the political sphere were truly prophetic. Yet fears and dire predictions notwithstanding, he reminded his readers that the Royal Family urged the introduction of Anglicanism on six occasions over a period of sixteen years.[8]

These ideas may have been in his mind when, in conversation with the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of London and others in power in the Church of England, William Ingraham Kip urged the establishment of a Hawaiian mission. As proof of the desire for such a venture, he showed them the letters from Foreign Minister Wyllie. The Provisional Bishop of New York, Kip's long-time colleague in Albany, Horatio Potter, was visiting England at the same time. When asked his opinion of the project, he gave "cordial approbation." As a result, the Bishop of London agreed with Bishop Kip to establish a joint venture in which the Church of England would provide two or three clergy and the American Episcopal Church the same number -- when possible. Yet because it was a private and informal agreement, no action could be taken, and it was early 1861 before the Bishop of Oxford was able formally to present the proposal to England's Bishops. About a month later, English Churchmen interested in missionary work in Polynesia issued a statement asking the Bishops of California and New York to present the matter to the entire Episcopal Church.[9] A few years after the mission had been established, Bishop Kip matter-of-factly wrote of the Church of England's "bounden duty" to establish the mission, and that of the American Church to assist.[10]

The small touring party was primarily on a pleasure trip, and did not, therefore, limit itself to England. It visited Ireland, where at the Lakes of Killarney, William, Jr., found himself thoroughly wet in an incident which the Bishop later blamed for his son's inclination to illness. They also visited Scotland.[11]

Even on the Continent, the Bishop was pursued by ecclesiastical affairs. On three Sundays, he conducted services in the American Chapel in Paris. While the European tour was, for the Bishop, a retreat into reminiscences of the pleasant past, associations and friendships, and the untroubled beauties of natural and artistic vistas not available in California, Kip was pursued and nagged throughout the travels by letters from the Reverend Chauncey Langdon, the Episcopal chaplain in Rome, urging a meeting to discuss important ecclesiastical matters. Finally, the two men met in Paris, where Langdon laid a proposal and supporting documents before Bishop Kip. Langdon spoke to Kip about a rising movement of Italians rejecting both the ecclesiastical and temporal leadership of the Vatican. Yet Italy lacked an indigenous Protestant alternative, so it was proposed that an Anglican chaplaincy be established in Florence, as a nurturing nucleus for the developing reformation. Upper class Italians required proof that persons of their social status and intellectual and cultural background would feel comfortable in a Protestant environment, so Langdon asked that Bishop Kip give such demonstration by spending one month as Bishop-in-residence in Florence, and a similar period in Rome. Certainly a Bishop of Kip's status and erudition would successfully attract the Italian upper class, thereby initiating a "snowball" effect. The scheme was supported by letters from several British Bishops, constrained from acting on their own because of their status in an Established Church, and the political dimensions of that relationship. His old friend, William R. Whittingham, Bishop of Maryland, also urged his acceptance of the proposal. Edward Pruyn, a former parishioner from Albany, promised to provide the necessary financial support. Tired of travelling, and eager to get home, Kip presented the argument of collegiality as the basis for refusing to extend his trip into Italy: "had half a dozen of our Bishops sent out to me a request to go, I should have felt obliged to comply, but I cannot decide to go on my own responsibility."[12] So, the project collapsed.

The itinerary took the party to many of the places visited some years before on the Bishop's first European tour. The gambling casinos of German health spas were new to the Bishop, and he observed them on occasion with a mildly disapproving detachment. Most sites had changed only imperceptibly during the 15 year interval. But the Bishop found Paris markedly changed, and his aesthetic sensibility was greatly pleased. Remembering the Revolution of 1848, Kip said the rebuilding of Paris was "scattering the nests of poverty and plotting." Broad avenues were cut through the city, large buildings erected; with these improvements, Paris had become "the most splendid city in the world." [13]

As on his earlier trip, many of Kip's observations of other nationalities are tinged with the deep partriotism he felt. However, the experience of rough and tumble California life and the softening reflection of the years, made him more reflective and less harsh in his judgments. While in the Hague, the Kip party called on Lord Napier, British Minister to the Hague, who in the course of a tea time conversation, inquired after details of an incident in which an American army general was accused of beating a Negro woman to death. While honesty forced the Bishop to acknowledge the event, for reasons of patriotism, he would have preferred to deny knowledge of the event. As much as possible, he merely maintained a discreet silence. On a Swiss train, two Englishmen mistook the Bishop and his son for compatriots. They commenced telling stories about the American propensity for expectorating. In amused silence, the two Kips listened, keenly aware of the indiscretion of their travelling companions. Yet, when challenged directly, in another circumstance, silence would not suffice for the Bishop. When the son of the Bishop of Winchester boasted about the 150,000 volunteers in the British Army, Bishop Kip quietly responded that the United States had a volunteer force of 2,400,000 men. He added with evident satisfaction, "I had quite extinguished him by the immensity of my figures." Still, patriotism did not cause him to excise a personal faux pas from his text. Finding themselves coincidentally travelling with a family of Russian nobles for some days, Kip noted their companions spoke only Russian and French. The Bishop and his son thereupon began discussing the nature and quality of these Russians. Kip later discovered they had maintained a polite silence throughout the discussion, though they understood and spoke perfect English. In his telling of the story, the Bishop expressed subtle admiration at both the manners and learning of these travellers.[14]

For the Bishop this trip was not so much an exploration as it was a return to familiar territory as a basis for educating his young son, and sharing insights and experiences with a general interest readership. During the travels, the Bishop was keenly aware of his responsibility for "my young charges." He self-consciously attended the task of preparing diary notes which would subsequently serve as the basis for the fourteen articles (or chapters) which emerged from the journey. He recounts that on one evening, while fatigue dogged him, he continued to work on his journal, fearing that otherwise that portion would never be completed, noting that for this diligence "I deserve considerable credit."[15] Nonetheless, the story of this Continental journey was never published in book form, and there is no evidence that it appeared as a series of articles.[16]

While vacationing, Kip was able to escape the scrutiny of others due to his status and social position. As a result, it was easier for him to demonstrate his keen sense of humor. On the Channel crossing, all passengers were affected by seasickness. Having no basin of his own, Kip surreptitiously "borrowed" that of a fellow passenger and "quietly enjoyed it." With tongue in cheek , he later notes that "as he was an Englishman and I had never been introduced to him, I could not make any explanations." In Germany, he was amused by a frequent student stunt:

> ...to shout--"Who is the Burgermaster of Oberwesel?" and all the mountains reply -- 'Esel! Esel! Esel!'" (The German for Ass.) It is said, the Burgermaster of Oberwesel never can see the wit of the joke.

Warmth and fondness attend Kip's retelling of experiences in reference to his identity. There was frequent amusement occasioned by his choice to travel incognito and devoid of evidence of status. After travelling together for several days, an Irish barrister urged an exchange of calling cards. On discovering his companion's episcopal status, the barrister "began at once bowing repeatedly" emphasizing his deferential approach with effusive language. All this evoked from Kip was the wry comment that "these English Churchmen are certainly well trained." Another identity-related incident arose in Paris, where the hotel concierge became familiar with inquiries after the Bishop of California. When one person asked for Bishop Kip, she informed him that no such person was at the hotel. On hearing a personal description of the Bishop, she replied, "Oh, you mean the Lord Archbishop of North America!" On hearing this, Kip was greatly amused by the "grand title I had lately received." In one delightful family vignette we see the Bishop acceding to the amorous designs of his son, all the while enjoying the normal machinations of a young man. When "Willie" encouraged him to make the acquaintance of Mr. Meredith Calhoun, of Louisiana, he asked for a reason, and was told Calhoun "has an exceedingly pretty daughter about sixteen." During the course of the visit the Bishop "engaged the old folks in conversation on one side of the fireplace, leaving Willie to entertain the daughter on the other." Though scheduled to leave Paris the following morning, the Bishop and his son were invited to join the Calhouns on an afternoon drive. The Bishop's initial refusal of the offer seems tinged with mock seriousness designed to provoke Willie's reaction: "winking and telegraphing me most nervously from the other side of the room, I finally accepted."[17] The extended opportunity to exercise his sense of humor must have been a welcome refreshment for Bishop Kip.

By early October, the Bishop was tired of continuous travel and eager to return home. He spent some three weeks in England, where he encouraged the financial support of the mission of the Bishop of Columbia--now British Columbia. Drawing parallels between resource--rich British Columbia and California, Kip commended English Churchmen for establishing and supporting a religious mission in advance of the rush of hoards of greedy frontiersmen. Leaving England on October 24, the Bishop spent a short time on the Atlantic Coast, then sailed for home. He arrived in San Francisco on December 16, 1860.[18]

Though the American Church never provided personnel or money, the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel finally agreed to take full responsibility for the Hawaiian mission. Thomas Nettleship Staley was appointed and consecrated bishop for the mission.[19] The party of bishop, clergy and families arrived in San Francisco in late 1862 and spent its only evening in the City in Bishop Kip's home. The following day, the party embarked for Honolulu.[20]

The inability of the American Church to support this mission notwithstanding, Bishop Kip continued to support the endeavor. Staley identified Kip as "my steady staunch friend," adding "I am seldom a month without exchanging letters with him." In a subsequent letter to an American reader, Staley defended himself against the charge of extremism in matters of ritual and churchmanship by affirming his acceptance of principles illustrated by Kip and other moderate American bishops. In gratitude for Kip's support and encouragement, the King of Hawaii sent a "pressing solicitation" for the Bishop to be a palace guest in Honolulu; the serious illness of his younger son prevented the Bishop from accepting the invitation.[21] In view of its geographic isolation from the rest of Anglicanism, the mission -- and particularly its Bishop -- must have been deeply grateful for Bishop Kip's continuing letters and moral support.

On his return home from Europe, Bishop Kip resumed the difficult task of leading a feeble Church facing a diverse and difficult milieu. The diversity of California's population was aptly suggested by the Reverend William Hill:

> ...the most heterogeneous population to be found on the face of the earth. We have Chinese isolators, Sandwich Island and native Indian heathens, German atheists, ...thousands of Jews,...and thousands of emigrants from the Atlantic States, who

> seem to have left behind them, all care for God and holy things.[22]

While this had been true for the whole of the Fifties, there was a new factor. The new factor was a major shift in employment and residence. California was in transition from itinerant mining to settled agricultural pursuits. The result was churches erected in the mining districts were left nearly vacant, while there were no churches in the newly-populated agricultural regions. Once more Bishop Kip faced the task of marshaling money and clergy to establish parishes and missions in poor, but populous areas. Meanwhile, it was necessary to maintain existing churches in the now-less-populous mining areas, where there were relatively stable, but smaller congregations. After years of seemingly-successful struggle, these altered conditions forced Kip to announce "the Diocese is weaker than it was five years ago."[23] The Diocese had serious need for additional clergy.

The Bishop reminded one Diocesan Convention that as a result of the lack of missionaries, "thousands of our people are growing up in practical heathenism." A year later, writing about an aspirant for ordination, he noted "we need clergy sadly in this Empire." Reminding another Convention of his dual role as Bishop and Rector of Grace Church, he expressed sorrow that lack of clergy assistants made it necessary for him to devote a large amount of time to the pastoral care of the congregation of Grace Church. In addition to the dearth of trained clergy, California suffered from the difficulty of transcontinental communications which frequently required as much as one year in exchanges of letters to confirm placement arrangements.[24] As a result, needs were not easily supplied.

There also seems to have been some divisiveness within the Diocese. For a few short weeks in mid-1861 Dr. Jean L. Ver Mehr edited and published an Episcopal newspaper titled Pacific Churchman. According to Ver Mehr the paper's demise resulted from both lack of sufficient capital and the personal opposition and antagonism of Stephen C. Thrall, Rector of Trinity Church, San Francisco. One public commentator said that until Bishop Kip was recalled to the pastorate of Grace Church, "the poor Bishop had to rush around begging the loan of a church from one of his reluctant rectors" whenever he was asked to perform weddings or other services.[25] As we have seen with reference to the early tensions between Grace and Trinity Churches, and at the time of Kip's election as Diocesan Bishop, comment upon ecclesiastical tensions was subdued at best during the whole of this period. Nonetheless, these brief bits of evidence suggest that Kip faced the responsibility of leading a Diocese tinged with some divisiveness.

In the face of these challenges, the assistance of the national Board of Missions was, at best, a mixed blessing. Decisions concerning placement and payment of California missionaries were made by the New York-based Board which had no familiarity with conditions in California. Once removed from the missionary list, a particular parish would never again be given additional financial help even though the lack of minimal help might result in mortgage foreclosure on the building and personal indebtedness to the missionary clergy.

In good faith, the Bishop invited clergy to take various posts only to have the Missionary Committee deny a stipend for that locale. While clergy in one place suffered the serious effects of economic privation, missionary money designated for California reverted to the national treasury because of impasses over designation of parishes to be aided. In understandable frustration, Kip informed Bishop Whittingham that Churchmen in California were beginning to doubt the value of their allegiance to the Episcopal Church and added that, "if this mismanagement continues" only a decentralized provincial system would avoid the breaking of all formal ties between Eastern and Pacific Coast Anglicans.[26]

Rather than take Kip's counsel, the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions proposed to fund circuit riding itinerant ministries in either the northern quarter or southern half of California. Believing more enduring pastoral ministry was necessary, the Bishop rejected the offer.[27] But, giving credit when due, he praised the Committee for maintaining the size of stipends in spite of a significant decrease in income occasioned by the effects of the Civil War.[28] So, when agreement was reached and a stipend awarded, the Bishop felt secure that missionary clergy would have sufficient income to sustain themselves.

The unity of the Church was of paramount concern to Episcopalians. During the early part of the Nineteenth Century, many denominations were disrupted by doctrinal disputes. While the issues were different in the Episcopal Church, arguments over doctrine were embodied in the long and painful conflict over ritual practices. By contrast with many other groups, the Episcopal Church remained organically united.

The same desire for visible unity obtained with reference to the Civil War. The General Convention of the Episcopal Church refused to make pronouncements either supporting or condemning slavery. There was a consensus to the effect that the Church should not take stands on issues which were divisive, and especially in public and legal matters over which the Church had no direct control. It was a good example of ignoring public issues in an effort to maintain the purity of the theory of separation of church and state. Official silence was maintained even though some prominent Episcopalians were quite vocal in urging Christians to take a stand on one side or the other of issues which resulted in the Civil War.[29] In addition to the national church situation, events in particular dioceses were heavily influenced by the situation in states within which they were located.

California was a weak partner in the Union team. Supporting the Republican Presidential candidate, Abraham Lincoln, by a slim 700-vote margin, the people returned a Democratic Congressional delegation and Legislature. Though denying slavery a foothold, the State pursued a consistent course of limiting Negro access to legal remedies, and perpetuated a clear second class status for Black Californians. The Legislature even refused to receive petitions from Black citizens, who were thereby denied any right of petition; they were not considered citizens by that action.[30]

The outbreak of warfare merely increased the divisiveness. The interior and southern part of California were pro-slavery territory. There were threats of uprisings, and frequent military action to control these restive supporters of the Confederacy. Throughout the State there were secret pro-Confederate societies which created a good deal of mischief. One group even outfitted a privateer ship in San Francisco; it was found out before sailing. Brigadier General Albert Sydney Johnson, who commanded the U. S. Army's Department of the Pacific, was believed to be a supporter of the South. When relieved of command, he immediately proceeded to the South, where he received a general officer's commission in the Confederate States' Army. A strong political faction in California publicly espoused withdrawal from the Union, and the establishment of an independent republic. At best, Governor John Downey considered war an improper method for preserving the Union. California's allegiance to the Union was maintained by virtue of the strenuous efforts of people like San Francisco's staunchly pro-Union Unitarian Minister, the Reverend Thomas Starr King, who traversed the State, speaking to all who would listen. Any simple tally which categorizes California as a "Union State" glosses over the tenuous nature of that categorization.[31] The situation was neither placid nor static. The entire State was beset by the antagonisms and rivalries of persons, factions and regions within the State.

The political partisanship and sectional rivalries which resulted in the Civil War greatly disturbed Bishop Kip. He believed the Church should be aloof from these tensions and refuse to be caught up in them. Several years before the outbreak of the War, he reminded the people of the Diocese that "in the discharge of our sacred functions, there is no North and no South." The clergy were pointedly told that the "higher duties" to which they were called might prohibit them "from exhibiting the interest we might be inclined to take as citizens in what is passing around us."[32] This was not the response of one motivated solely by a desire for the superficial unity of the Diocese at any cost. Rather, this is a clear and concise example of the Lutheran notion of the "two spheres": one sacred, the other secular. The "two spheres" co-exist and cooperate, while recognizing their differing responsibilities and powers. Neither should interfere with, or directly influence, the other. While the theologically motivated opinion and stance appealed to the Bishop as also the most necessary pastoral policy, it is important to recognize the primacy of the theological motive.

Though the conflict had been joined, its intensity had not yet been felt, when with great sadness Bishop Kip spoke of once-friendly compatriots "arrayed in deadly hostility against each other." He wrote and authorized use of a prayer which spoke of the "manifold and sore troubles which our transgressions have brought upon us." The prayer implored God to "take away ... hatred and prejudice, ... appease the strifes and tumults, ... and restore peace in our time."[33]

Throughout the conflict, the Church was regarded as a sign of the possibility of peace, in Kip's thinking and writing. He reminded Episcopalians that in other parts of the country, one's political and military stance was largely conditioned by geography, as was the allegiance of the Church. Yet, in California, the situation was different because people of all sections were seated together in the same congregations. So he urged his flock to remember that "whatever differences divide us as citizens, as a Church our object has been to promote peace and good will among men".[34] Even after several years of conflict, with California politically in the Union camp, the Bishop felt kinship with the politically and socially divided Diocese of Maryland, telling his friend Bishop Whittingham: "Like your own diocese, every parish here is divided on politics, but we have managed so far to keep the peace."[35] Now, rather than a few bickering clergy or disputatious parishes, the Diocese faced the problem of factionalized parishes throughout the Diocese, in which peace could be maintained only by silence.

It was a silence produced by a theological understanding, and the pastoral concern for institutional survival. According to Bishop Kip the Civil War was "a conflict of unholy passions," allowing him to look to a future when "reason again resumes her sway." Choosing reason over passion, Kip believed the harmony of mankind the highest desire of God, and therefore the proper ministry of the Church. Later he was pleased to report to the people of his Diocese that because the Church had been silent nationally, the Church was rather quickly and painlessly reunited when the hostilities ceased.[36] Both in California and throughout the nation, the Church had survived the crucible of the Civil War without breaking asunder.

Functional adherence to the notion of two spheres allowed the private William Ingraham Kip to take a political stance. He was a Union man. Early in the War he wrote William Henry Seward, Secretary of State and one-time Albany friend and parishioner, commending a young man as "an uncompromising Union man in all the discussions." Nearly three years later he wrote a similar letter to Edward Townsend, his long-time friend and one-time travelling companion, who was then with the Office of the Adjutant General of the Union Army.[37] Not only did the Bishop function as an avowed supporter of the Union cause, but he wrote friends who were important United States officials, expecting to be received as an ardent friend of the Union.

In an effort to raise money for the United States Sanitary Commission, an organization which advised the Medical Department of the Union Army concerning healthy hygiene, diet, morale, sanitation, and other matters affecting soldiers' welfare, Mary C. Innia, from Brooklyn, New York, asked all Northern Bishops to supply autographed copies of special prayers they had authorized for use during the Civil War. These were reproduced, bound, and sold under the title, _The Church Loyal and True_.[38] Again, William Ingraham Kip demonstrated himself a supporter of the Union cause.

In private, Kip discussed both slavery and the capacities of the Negro populace. To the Bishop of British Columbia, Kip expressed the opinion that slavery should be abolished. Laws had been deliberately constructed so as to impede the social and intellectual development of the Afro-American under slavery, he said. So the capacity to rise from this "degraded" condition was a necessary consideration in debates concerning the future and fate of Black America. It would also seem that as one who espoused the primacy of reason, Kip would feel compelled to permit and encourage the maximum amount of personal and racial development for all people. Nonetheless in spite of espousing the granting of opportunity to "rise", Kip believed that there was"not much hope of the permanent elevation of the Negro race." With judgment clouded by denominational bias, he noted, "the evident superiority" of Anglican Blacks as over and against all other members of that race.[39] Dismal prospects notwithstanding, he was a tepid abolitionist.

With two sons in the service of their country, one in the diplomatic service and the other in the military service, William Ingraham Kip was as proud as any father. William, Jr. went, in March 1862, to Yedo, Japan, where he served for a year as Secretary of Legation. Returning for a brief visit with his parents, he travelled overland to the Atlantic Coast and then to Europe, where he worked in a new assignment. Major Lawrence Kip was a field staff officer, sometime acting division adjutant general, and frequently in battle. The Bishop's successive private letters mark the increasing tally of major battles through which his son went; first mentioning three major battles, the Bishop ultimately spoke of thirteen before Lawrence was reassigned to an inspection function in the New York City area. The proud father was relegated to the status of spectator in a frequently replayed sequence of events: Lawrence went forth into a major battle, served gallantly, survived, was recommended for field promotion, and was passed over for promotion, while newly entering civilians and non-combatant rear-echelon fellow officers were given higher rank. Publicly Kip supported neither cause nor person engaged in conflict; but in private, he could be forceful and approving. With the encouragement of Edward Townsend, Kip began active efforts to further his son's career. Laying the facts before New York's Senator Ira Harris, he asked that the case be brought to the attention of President Lincoln and of Secretary of War Stanton.[40] In the careers of his sons, we see Bishop Kip's deep links and allegiance to the Union cause.

Bishops are men of stature and note; they are the objects of gossip and "intelligence." It is unlikely that his pro-Union stance, given effect in occasional letters of introduction, the positions of his sons, and his occasionally and privately expressed views on the status of the Negro, were unknown to large numbers of his Anglican flock. Yet his consistent adherence to the notion of the sacred-secular separation and his practice of radically separating them in his own life seem to have maintained the unity of the Diocese and the personal integrity of William Ingraham Kip.

The Union cause called for the enormous talent and energies of the Reverend Thomas Starr King. He quickly became the towering figure on the ecclesiastical and political scenes. King was also active in raising substantial sums of money to support the U. S. Sanitary Commission. Apparently, the Bishop believed that support of the Commission, therefore support of the work of

Starr King, could be equated with active support of Unitarianism.[41] Kip reportedly considered King "an over-rated person". In considering the placement of one priest from the East Coast in a San Francisco parish, the Bishop was concerned for the man's ability to "cope with Starr King," and inquired if the man was "such a remarkable preacher." Yet, on the death of Colonel Edward D. Baker, long-time prominent San Francisco attorney, the two men shared responsibilities at the funeral. Bishop Kip conducted the service and Starr King delivered the eulogy.[42] In spite of the formal association between the two men, Kip's discomfort with Starr King would have serious consequences.

In early 1860 some Episcopal laymen organized a group called the Episcopal Mission Sunday School. Before Bishop Kip left for Europe, Mr. William G. Badger, a leading member of its organizers asked Bishop Kip to arrange for the conduct of worship services for the Mission. The Bishop replied that "no assent could be given to service in the center of the city; but they could have services below my residence, somewhere near Third and Harrison Streets as services of Church are wanted there."[43] The group willingly moved, suggesting that its survival was more important than ministry in a particular geographic area. It would seem, then, that this was a group seeking a particular style of Churchmanship not then available in other Episcopal congregations in San Francisco. Trouble began to brew shortly after the Bishop's departure for the Atlantic Coast.

A known supporter of the Federal Government, and staunch opponent of slavery, Starr King was invited to deliver a July 4th oration at a public gathering sponsored by the Episcopal Mission

Sunday School. By this time, the clergy-lay-Standing Committee of the Diocese of California was functioning as the Ecclesiastical Authority -- exercising judgment and making decisions normally reserved to the office and function of Bishop. On June 20, the Standing Committee decried the invitation of a Unitarian minister into an Episcopal context without the prior sanction of an Episcopal clergyman or the approval of the Standing Committee.[44] The stage was set when both meeting and oration proceeded as planned. Apparently the leaders of the Mission believed they had the Bishop's support, and decided to proceed with the intent of subsequently laying the matter before the Bishop, who was expected to return in a few months.[45]

Meanwhile, the victim of the drama was moving onto the stage. Believing in the support of the Bishop, leaders of the Mission began the process of securing clergy leadership. They soon settled upon the Reverend George B. Taylor, Rector of St. John's Church, in Marysville. Concerned for the legalities and proprieties of the establishment of a new parish in San Francisco, Taylor sought the advice of members of the Standing Committee. Though in the past there had been canonical limitations and prohibitions regarding such a move, the Reverend Dr. Orange Clark responded: "there is no Canonical prohibition to establishing a Church in any part of any city or village, irrespective of any or all the Churches previously existing therein." Taylor accepted the Mission's offer. The Starr King fracas had come and gone with no apparent lasting effect, and there seemed no legal impediment to the activities of the Mission. So Taylor must have been somewhat surprised when informed that on October 2, 1860 the Standing Committee had formally admonished him for "intruding himself within the parochial cure of other ministers." The following February, the Standing Committee expressed the opinion that because the Starr King oration "had placed the School outside the pale of the Church," it had barred Taylor from further preaching and the conduct of worship for the Mission. Obeying the literal conditions of the Committee's orders, Taylor continued in residence, leadership, and the teaching of a Bible class. About this time, the lay leaders of the Mission decided to open a branch of the School -- a clear challenge to the Standing Committee and other opponents. Edward Stanly, a lay member of the Standing Committee, said the Mission "contemptuously disclaimed the authority of the Standing Committee," and in response, "the Committee refused to exercise any further authority over it." In a somewhat partisan tone, a public newspaper later spoke of "the secession of the Episcopal Mission Sunday School from the Church of the Advent."[46] "Secession" was a particularly volatile word in Civil War America. Trouble was at hand and the conflict joined by the time Bishop Kip returned from Europe.

A presentment of charges for what amounted to "ecclesiastical poaching"--functioning in the parochial territory of another clergyman--was prepared against George B. Taylor. Most non-Episcopal readers must have been perplexed when the newspaper reported that the offense for which Taylor was to be tried in a Church court, was that of "preaching and praying for the Episcopal Mission Sunday School." By the time the trial started on the evening of February 14, 1861, the affair had become so much a matter of widespread public comment that the nave of the Church in which the trial court convened was filled to overflowing. Invoking the letter of existing canonical provisions, William Ingraham Kip demanded that only communicants of the Episcopal Church be permitted to witness the proceedings. Because he was a key witness in the trial, the Bishop was fully within his rights. He would, as Bishop, be called on to review the proceedings and findings of the trial, and possibly render a sentence. So the officials of the Court agreed to his request and banished non-Anglicans.[47] So, it was with great public interest and suspicion that the trial began.

The conduct of the trial did not permit a thorough examination of all issues and problems involved in the situation. The defense implied that the Standing Committee had been acting inconsistently in trying to bar an Independence Day oration for public benefit and sponsored by the Episcopal Mission Sunday School, while taking no action when the Church of the Advent sponsored lectures by a Jew and a Roman Catholic for the sole benefit of that parish. The defense intended to trace the history of the antagonistic relationship with the Standing Committee, beginning with the Starr King affair. William G. Badger, one of the two most prominent lay leaders of the School, was called to the stand. He began giving a history of the Mission. Concurring with its legally trained lay Assessor, the Court ruled this line of evidence irrelevant. Taylor and his advisors withdrew for a brief conference. They determined that their intended line of defense would not be permitted and only a part of the situation reviewed in the court. Because the scope of the case was to be too narrow, they decided against active participation in the trial. The court had before it the Bishop's testimony regarding his conversation with Badger, and Dr. Clark's letter to Taylor. The combined substance of this evidence seems to be that there were episcopal preferences as to the proper location of a new mission, and no applicable canonical provisions. Although there is evidence of good faith on Taylor's part, and it seems that the major decisions were made and carried out by the very strong lay leadership of the Mission, Taylor was convicted and deposed from the ministry.[48]

In a silent and brooding way, the figure of Thomas Starr King haunts the transcript of the trial. Taylor appears as the hopeless fly caught in the spiderweb of rival factions and unknown technical violations of canons. There is no evidence of malice on his part. There is no evidence of harm done another parish church or clergyman. There is no evidence of an aggrieved laity. Meanwhile, the newspapers and public commonly identified the offense: association with a group of Episcopalians who held Starr King in some favor. This purported, yet unexamined, association and favor flew in the face of Bishop Kip's dogmatic positions regarding the purity of the Christian faith, his theological understanding of the sacred and secular spheres and his very practical program for the peace and unity of parishes and the Diocese.

King and his supporters represented a challenge of potentially serious consequences.

After the trial there were a few loose ends. Eastern Churchmen were informed of the trial by the reprinting of a San Francisco newspaper account which pointed out that Taylor--as with all clergy--voluntarily joined the Church, vowed to obey both his Bishop and the canons, and having admitted performing clergy functions for the Mission, he had thereby admitted the violation of his vows. Urging that Taylor take his punishment without seeking public sympathy, the article labeled the attempt to bring in the Starr King affair merely Taylor's "desire to manufacture popularity" in a fashion "consistent with the demagogueism (sic) of the politician."[49] Thereafter, the Bishop refused to acknowledge the School, and when a Committee arrived requesting standing within the Church, he required that the School reorganize as a dependency of Trinity Parish. Kip later reported this was done, and "the return of the School concludes the history of the matter."[50]

While the Bishop had, in earlier years, endured a series of challenges to his status and authority, in this instance, the use of the full weight of the law re-established the power and primacy of the Bishop. If there had been any previous doubt, this case established to a certainty that William Ingraham Kip was fully willing to use his legal prerogatives. Yet, on balance, we must question whether the result was worth the cost.

In addition to dealing with the socio-economic factors abroad in California and their impact on the Diocese, and, particularly facing the peculiar difficulties raised by the factionalism of the Civil War, William Ingraham Kip was once more plunged into the demanding responsibility of pastoring the congregation of Grace Church, San Francisco. During the Bishop's extended vacation tour, Ferdinand C. Ewer, Rector of Grace Church, went to New York for a lengthy visit. Shortly after his return from Europe, Bishop Kip began a series of parochial visitations, including Petaluma, Oakland, Benicia, Sacramento, Marysville, Stockton and San Jose. On March 25, the Vestry invited Bishop Kip to take charge of Grace Church until Ewer's return. Referring to his asthma which was aggravated by the dusty and windy conditions of San Francisco, Ewer sent the Vestry a letter from New York, tendering his resignation. On May 8, the Vestry read the letter and accepted the resignation with regret. Immediately they asked that the Bishop retain charge of the parish until the rectorship was permanently filled.[51] Kip had no desire to continue this added responsibility for an extended time.

Experience and observation had taught Bishop Kip a variety of methods of pressuring for the selection of a permanent rector. On May 24, he wrote the Vestry a letter informing them of his intention to begin a new round of parochial visitations in about a week and a half. He offered to "aid the Vestry" in arranging for supply clergy, strongly urged the necessity of electing a permanent rector, and forcefully withdrew his own name from consideration for the rectorship. Three days later, the Vestry resolved it would elect a rector on the first Monday in October.

A week later, the Bishop reiterated his position, adding strongly that the parish had "no right" to avoid electing a permanent rector, thereby adding to the demands already placed on the clergy of the Diocese. On the other hand, if a rector were elected soon, the Bishop offered to urge the candidate's acceptance of the post, meanwhile taking charge of the parish until the new rector arrived. Then he recommended that the Vestry elect a capable and highly regarded man, the Reverend Robert Clarkson, of Chicago.[52] The Vestry proceeded without delay to elect Clarkson to the rectorship. However, on August 10, a response came from Clarkson declining the rectorship. One week later, the Bishop was unanimously elected permanent Rector. Less than a week later, he accepted. A second letter was received from Clarkson on September 6, in which he indicated a willingness to accept the rectorship for a period of six months while a permanent rector was located. The Vestry wrote, reviewing the situation and the Bishop's willingness to step aside, and added that the parish's need for a permanent rector made Clarkson's offer inexpedient.[53]

A short time later, Bishop Kip offered an idea new to the American scene. He hoped the Bishop would be _ex officio_, the legal, but nominal, head of Grace Church, with a subordinate given day-to-day operational responsibility. In late 1862, he was authorized to correspond with the Reverend George D. Cummins, of Baltimore, informing him that if he would accept the rectorship of Grace Church, a formal call would be extended.[54] Five months later, a letter was received in which Cummins declined the offer.[55] While the Clerk of Vestry spoke of an offer of the rectorship to

Cummins, this was in reality pursuit of the Bishop's proposed system. The staff plan and call of "a distinguished clergyman not to the position of Rector, but to occupy the post of Dean," was made known to Churchmen throughout the nation in June, 1863. During the time of search for a prominent pastor for Grace Church, Mark Twain published occasional articles which humorously questioned the propriety of the venture. By the skillful use of exaggeration, Twain suggested that the anticipated salary was unusually large and augmented by valuable information and gifts from followers. The opportunity may have looked inviting from outside the Church, but while reporting the ploy of the Bishop serving as "nominal head" of the congregation, with a subordinate Dean, to the people of the Diocese, the Bishop was forced to add that "suitable arrangements, however, have not been made." The result was that in two years' time, the Bishop had two temporary assistants.[56]

During the rectorate of Ferdinand C. Ewer, the Grace Church congregation had decided to erect a new and larger place of worship, with Bishop Kip laying the cornerstone in May, 1860, just before his departure. Now, as Rector, and therefore responsible for all aspects of parish life and business, Bishop Kip added responsibility for the general oversight of the construction of the new Grace Church to his other duties. Though unfinished, the building was first used for worship services on September 29, 1862. One newspaper reporter spoke of it as a "new and elegant Grace Church," adding that this first service was not a formal dedication. During the latter months of construction there was no suitable and sizeable place in which the congregation could worship, so many of the parishioners had drifted away. The early use of the unfinished building was designed to initiate the process of re-forming the congregation.[57]

The church was spacious, attractive, and had a finished quality, although it was technically unfinished. Red brick walls enclosed the Gothic-style interior, parts of which were supported by iron columns--most of which had a stucco facing, and four of which had a combination granite and stucco facing. Locally-produced stained glass windows were installed in most places, leaving only the larger east and west end windows to be filled by creations from New York. The pews could comfortably seat 1,000 persons. Bishop George Hills, of British Columbia, described the raised altar as "large and massive," indicating its prominence. The surrounding wooden screen and over-arching canopy on the sedilia also gave the clergy prominence. This was a building in which the whole Diocese could take pride, and which could be examplary for architecture and liturgy. The worship services here were so significantly oriented toward music, that the parish devoted thirty percent of its income to the support of the choir.[58] The new building and strenuous pastoral efforts produced a vigorous resurgence of the congregation.

In mid-1862 the Grace Cathedral congregation numbered from 130 to 140 communicants.[59] When the Bishop of British Columbia visited en route to England in May, 1863, communicant membership stood at about 280 persons. When Bishop Hills visited again, on his return to British Columbia, in January, 1864, he found a congregation with some 350 communicants.[60] As he had done in Albany so many years before, William Ingraham Kip presided over the preparation of a new place of worship and then set about promoting the dramatic growth in the size of the congregation.

Having stabilized the congregation, and having helped build its fortunes, Bishop Kip turned its attention to a community need. In mid-July 1863, he had become aware that the only girls' educational institution with a religious cast was the Roman Catholic School in San Jose. Disturbed by the effects and style of Roman Catholic education, he desired an Anglican alternative. The following January, he urged the Vestry of Grace Cathedral to establish a parish-sponsored school for females. The Bishop and other members of the Vestry were selected as a committee to investigate the matter. The committee soon reported that such a school was needed, that the Reverend Hannibal Goodwin, Assistant Minister in the parish, was qualified to serve as principal, and that financing could be the most difficult problem. Thereupon, the Vestry resolved to establish such a school with Goodwin at its head. Three months later, it was reported that the "Young Ladies' School" had been established, with more than 40 pupils enrolled. A year later, the enrollment stood at more than 100 pupils.[61]

When the unexpected illness of his younger son, William, Jr., necessitated the Bishop's sudden departure for Europe, he immediately consulted with the Vestry of Grace Cathedral. He informed them that the duration of his absence was unknown. Because no legal steps had been taken to secure *ex officio* status for the Bishop, this was a normal parish church, with a Rector, who by his absence would legally vacate the position. When he offered to resign the rectorship, the Vestry decided to grant him an eight month leave of absence. Apparently Bishop Kip personally handled parish finances, because when his assistant, the Reverend Mr. Goodwin, assumed the pastoral responsibility, he had to report that he had "no means of knowing the amount of Contributions during the previous part of the conventional year." When the eight months had passed, the Vestry seems to have considered the rectorship vacated, because there immediately arose considerable talk about the identity of the future additional clergyman at Grach Church. Once more Mark Twain had opportunity to poke fun at the Cathedral situation saying with tongue-in-cheek that it would be difficult to fill the vacancy because the salary was so small, yet later suggesting that large numbers of rural clergy were politicking for the post. And though the Cathedral had a position of prominence in the affairs of the City, Twain suggested the degree of isolation throughout the whole religious scene by saying he had recently written a sermon for an Episcopal clergyman, slightly re-writing it in successive editions for use by clergy of other denominations--none of whom, he said, detected the ruse. At the time of his departure, another wag succinctly labeled Kip in a way which summarized certain aspects of his parish ministry as "the great originator of Cathedrals, Parish Schools and 'intoning'".[62]

That brief description omits the pastoral concern and depth of personal relationships which were behind the dramatic growth in membership. It fails to mention the architectural and managerial skills and sensitivities behind the construction of a highly regarded cathedral church. It fails to mention the maintenance of parish stability in the face of great political and social divisiveness in the midst of Civil War turbulence.

As had been true for many years previously, the period from 1860 to 1865 was one of irregular and uncertain income for William Ingraham Kip. While stipends for missionary priests were maintained at their ante-bellum level, those for bishops were reduced from $3,000 per year to $1,000 a year as a result of national pressures on the Church generated by the effects of the Civil War. As a result, the Standing Committee of the Diocese urged renewed and increased efforts toward local support of the Bishop.[63]

The figures relative to Diocesan support of the Bishop are often confusing, masked by the variety of reporting styles used by the various fund treasurers, and occasionally contradictory. While we are often bored by a plethora of statistics, we can best understand Bishop Kip's financial trials and tribulations by looking at his salary income from the Diocese. From June, 1859 to May, 1860 the Diocese paid Kip $1,355 toward his salary. Yet two years later he received only $170.00 for the year from the Diocese. Recognizing that the Bishop was being badly treated, the Convention resolved to secure pledges toward his support from every parish in the Diocese. When the parishes represented at that Convention had made their pledges, the total amounted to less than $900 per year. In reality, the Bishop's total income from the Diocese--including a small travel allowance-- amounted to less than $800 for the year. The next year his income from the Diocese suffered another drop to $557.20 toward his salary.[64] It was clear to all that the situation needed correction.

A special committee had been appointed in 1863 to revise and codify the Diocesan canons. That committee presented a set of revised canons, without explanation. Quietly included in that code was a mandatory assessment of one dollar per communicant member annually. Because a number of other substantive changes were included in the proposed canons, and because the Convention was unable to agree quickly to enact or reject the proposal, it was resolved that the proposal be submitted to the continuing Committee on Canons and be reported back with recommendations to the following annual Convention. This produced yet another year's delay in providing the Bishop a secure and regular income from the Diocese. Finally, on May 4, 1865, the proposed canons were enacted. At the mandatory rate of one dollar per communicant, the Bishop could anticipate an income of up to $1,245 for the forthcoming year.[65]

There was also income from work as pastor of Grace Church. When, in the absence of Ferdinand Ewer, the Bishop accepted temporary charge of the Parish he was voted a $300 per month salary. There is no indication that that amount was changed when he accepted the rectorship. Even that income was neither regular nor secure, since in late 1864--immediately before his departure for Europe--the Vestry of Grace Church held a special meeting in order to locate a means for paying the $1,400 salary arrears due to Kip.[66]

The Kip family also received income from private resources. While it appears that William Ingraham Kip was the recipient of a substantial legacy from his father's estate, we know nothing of those resources and their contribution to family income. We do know that during this period, Kip sold portions of the once-large lot on which the family home stood. In late 1861, he sold a portion of the lot to J. H. Applegate for $1,550.[67] In April, 1862, two portions of the lot were sold. For $3,000 Frederick Ogden purchased a part, and for $8,000 G. W. Gibbs purchased the second portion.[68] So, it would appear that the uncertainty of salary income, and perhaps even disrupted income from the legacy occasioned by the Civil War made it necessary that the Bishop liquidate assets in order to maintain the family life style.

The Bishop's expenses were necessarily high. The family home--suitable to accommodate visiting notables--had to be maintained. The Bishop's status brought inevitable requests and expectations for membership in a variety of social, cultural and educational organizations. He was a liberal, and often anonymous, supporter of parishes and Diocesan institutions.[69] Yet in 1862 Bishop Kip received a mere $4,418 from the combination of national, Diocesan, Parochial and personal sources.[70] While

William Ingraham Kip's income was higher than most clergy, it was nonetheless insufficient, and occasioned great uncertainty.

In struggling to cope with challenging social conditions, the internal problems of lack of clergy and divisiveness, economic difficulties, and rarely-helpful national Church practices and policies, Bishop Kip acquitted himself rather well. His social and ecclesiastical status notwithstanding, Bishop Kip had been the occasional target of the biting humor frequently displayed in the San Francisco News Letter. High praise from that source is even more impressive than from the coterie of Kip supporters. Yet on the eve of Kip's 1864 trip to Europe, near-eulogistic praise was his portion:

> While upon the one hand with enlightened solicitude, the momentous conflict of opinion which is convulsing the theological world, on the other he keeps himself accurately informed of the number of sittings which are taken in every church of the metropolis....
>
> . . . .
>
> ...these great matters occupy, without engrossing, his attention. His diplomacy is large enough to manage the interests of a diocese, and small enough to control the action of a sewing-circle....

Looking to the far future when the Church would be large and strong, the editorialist said, "the great and good man who has borne, in a spirit so magnanimous and so saintly, the petty persecutions of his malignant and small-souled detractors," would be ready to say "nunc dimittis."[71] Later the same journal renewed its praise, saying Kip would be sadly missed by the high social circles in which he functioned, noting his tireless efforts for the poor, sick, and afflicted, mentioning his literary and scholarly achievements, and the wisdom of his ecclesiastical administration under which--divisiveness and tension notwithstanding--"the Church has been thoroughly harmonized and united." It added that he was departing without enemies.[72] Thus, the Bishop departed with the sense that his efforts had been appreciated even outside the Episcopal Church.

This trip to Europe was taken in great haste. The Bishop's son, William, Jr., was reported seriously ill in Europe. So, on September 23, 1864 the Kips set sail for Southampton, England via Panama. In Southampton they met their ailing son, and to take advantage of the more beneficial climate, all embarked for Cannes, where they spent the winter.[73]

The party spent months in relaxed association with other vacationers. The Bishop cultivated the friendship of Lord Brougham, the 87-year old British statesman, Cabinet member, and associate of William Wilberforce in the fight against slavery. The Kips also met many composers and authors.[74] Only occasionally did Kip officiate at Church services.

In a post-Confirmation address delivered at the Church in Cannes, Kip spoke in the reflective manner of one who has had the time to examine his own past. He urged the confirmands faithfully to adhere to their vows saying, "Professions are nothing, unless a Christian life is added to show they are made in sincerity." He warned them against the "delusions" which he identified as: the religion of the intellect, the religion of the imagination, and the religion of mere feeling. Omitting any personal references, Kip drew upon the deep and often hurtful dimensions of his background, speaking of "a round of labours and prayers and self-sacrificing duties." With a solemn quality, he urged faithfulness "in the brightness of prosperity and amid the cares of adversity," and throughout "the solemn trial of humanity through which you are passing."[75] For the Bishop, Cannes must have been a time and place of retreat, reflection, and refreshment. Here he was to rebuild his spirits after a brief, but difficult period in his Diocese.

Later, the Kips visited a few of the major cities in Europe. In April, the Bishop visited Rome, calling together the remaining members of the Vestry of the defunct Grace Church parish, which he had been urged to visit five years earlier. Drawing upon his many experiences in establishing parishes in the many small towns of California, he encouraged the laity, organized the Vestry, saw to the election of a rector, and supported the specific goal of initiating regular worship services on November 1, 1865.[76] During May, the Kips spent ten days in Paris, where the Bishop visited the new Episcopal church, preaching there on two successive Sundays.[77] Spending some time in Hamburg, Germany, the Bishop was invited to be the preacher at a service on the occasion of an American "day of humiliation and prayer". The purpose of the day was "to unite in solemn service to Almighty God in memory of the good man who has been removed, so that all shall be occupied at the same time in contemplation of his virtues and in sorrow for his sudden and violent end."[78]

In the sermon Kip affirmed the Christian responsibility to be loyal to the established government. He decried individual and sectional disloyalty. Identifying the recent Civil War as evidence of God's judgment, he nonetheless asserted that substantial good had emerged from that conflict. Rampant materialism had been replaced by self-denial in the national interest. Thus, there was an "elevation of national character," establishing, "a feeling of nationality such as never before existed." In his potentially most telling social judgment, he said the War:

> ...swept away forever that curse of slavery which had been eating like canker into the heart of the land and had become an evil, so vast in its proportions that the wisest saw not how to grapple with it.

Only then did the Bishop close with a brief comment about the tragedy of President Lincoln's assassination. This brevity is surprising in view of the purpose of the religious observances.[79]

Returning to Boston from Liverpool on August 31, the Kips prepared for the Episcopal Church's General Convention. Only later did he summarize the lessons derived from his European journey. He said that whole nations were exalted or cast down as a result of the relative purity of their Christian faith. In a rapid recitation he said that most European countries were depressed as a result: Spain had rejected the truth, Italy was sunk in moral ruin, Germany had a scoffing and carping spirit, Geneva and environs were suffering a religious blight. On the other hand, he believed that both the English Church and society were experiencing progress. It was because of American kinship with England, and the Episcopal Church's purity of faith, that this nation was being exalted. Yet such a seemingly unabashed chauvinism gave William Ingraham Kip no enduring comfort. With echoes of his confirmation address at Cannes, he pleaded for faithfulness, reminding his listeners that they should let neither greed nor "the love of pleasure draw you aside from your lofty struggle."[80]

CHAPTER 9

No Respite

Following the Civil War, social factors outside the Church--the rough and tumble quality of California life, and the sectionalism which lead to the Civil War itself--ceased to be the source of major difficulties facing Bishop Kip. Rather, the problems he faced were uniquely ecclesiastical and arose from within the Church. The ravages of a demanding and strenuous life took their toll, and the Bishop's health failed increasingly. After more than eleven years in the episcopacy, William Ingraham Kip's burdens increased instead of easing.

Returning from Europe in 1865, the Kips went to Gardiner, Maine. There they spent a few days visiting Bishop and Mrs. George Burgess--Bishop Kip's sister and brother-in-law. They then spent a few weeks touring.[1]

The Kips were in Philadelphia for the General Convention. In the House of Bishops, William Ingraham Kip was appointed to the Standing Committee on the Prayer Book. In the House, he voted against a resolution which would have committed to his Committee the task of revising the introduction to the Order of Confirmation--a matter which might have raised theological debate. On the other hand, he made his first public venture into the many ritualism controversies by joining the Committee in proposing enactment of "their opinion as to the proper posture" of clergy and people during the services of Baptism and Confirmation; in the House, the Bishops determined to leave this as a matter for Diocesan regulation. Thus, Bishop Kip is shown to have relied on the theological principles of the past while seeking to condition the behavior and ritual of the future.[2] While the Church faced great risks and disruption from discussion of ritual practices, even greater would have been the trouble emerging from a ritualism debate compounded by theological pronouncements.

With Bishop Staley, of Honolulu, in Philadelphia for the Convention, Bishops Kip and Stevens were allowed the courtesy of introducing Staley to the House of Bishops. Staley sat with the closed, and often secretive, House. On the motion of Bishop Kip, Staley was allowed to describe and discuss the work of his Mission in Hawaii.[3]

The Board of Missions surveyed the missionary territories in the United States and decided that they were unmanageably large. The Board therefore proposed that the General Convention restructure the missionary territories into seven bishoprics. Bishop Kip moved that the number be reduced to five jurisdictions and that a special committee of bishops be appointed to consider the matter. Bishops Kip (one-time Missionary Bishop of California, now Diocesan), Lay (Missionary Bishop to Arkansas and the Indian Territory) and Talbot (in the process of being translated from the Missionary Bishopric of the North-West to the Diocese of Indiana) comprised the Committee which recommended the five jurisdictions which the House of Bishops approved and established.[4] The Church had properly called upon these three men who knew of the arduous quality of the missionary endeavor only too well. Their advice and counsel was accepted without question.

Conflict was avoided during the Convention. Yet even seemingly innocuous proposals could demonstrate antagonisms. For example, the pro-Union stance of Massachusetts was exemplified when its Bishop, Manton Eastburn, urged the inclusion of two subjects in a Thanksgiving Service. First, he urged rendering thanks for the re-establishment of unified national authority throughout the land. Second, he sought the expression of thanks for the extension of freedom's blessings and social improvement. Again, Bishop Kip demonstrated that the position he had taken in California was one of principle. The Civil War was over, Reconstruction had barely begun, and Union forces were in control. His private opinion notwithstanding, Bishop Kip maintained the notion of "the two spheres" and determinded that as political matters, Bishop Eastburn's subjects were "inconsistent" with the purpose of the Thanksgiving Service. He joined the majority of Bishops in voting to table the suggestion.[5]

The Kips returned to San Francisco on November 23, 1865.[6] The Bishop found his Diocese quiet, untroubled, and functioning routinely. He was able to resume his duties and live in a more leisurely fashion than was the case before his trip to Europe.

Though the Diocese continued to grow, it was still difficult for Bishop Kip to secure the necessary clergy for the parishes under his charge. So great was the need, and so difficult the process of making the necessary placement arrangements that Bishop Kip advertised the need for five unmarried clergymen, guaranteeing the annual salary, and allowing the Secretary of the Board of Missions to make the selections and send the men to California. It was his hope that at least two young men would agree to associate themselves in common life and ministry in the Los Angeles area, where they would form an "Associate Mission" to provide for the religious needs of people gathered in the several surrounding missionary stations. Meanwhile, the Bishop faced the task of providing clergy for two existing Northern California churches. Kip sadly offered three reasons for the continued lack of clergy in California: the high travel costs from the East, the insufficient support for clergy families, and a lack of missionary spirit among young clergy.[7] So, while there was no overt divisiveness within the Diocese, there were problems to be faced and difficulties to be surmounted.

Even in the face of an insufficiency of clergy, new parishes arose. On January 19, 1866, a group of active laymen organized St. James Church, San Francisco. William G. Badger, who had been Senior Warden of the Episcopal Mission Sunday School from its inception through and including the time of its submission to Trinity Church, was elected Senior Warden of St. James' Church. Even the secular press acknowledged that this parish had its origin in the Episcopal Mission Sunday School. The Parish was organized in order to provide a place in which traditional chants and other choral music would be an essential ingredient in the regular worship. Because it was necessary to locate and train choir members, secure vestments, locate a meeting hall, and outfit the hall as a place suited for worship, it was not until March 18, that the first service was conducted. In a still risky style, the Vestry decided to forego the traditional income from pew-rents and exist on the basis of free-will offerings collected each Sunday. Bishop Kip cautiously encouraged this gamble, speaking of the services in churches with pew rents as "matters of barter and sale, and merchandize is made out of the House of God."[8]

As had been the case at the previous General Convention, it was necessary for Bishop Kip to address matters of ritual, rather than matters of theology. As a result, his inaugural sermon at St. James' Church was more an apologia for the choral service than the preaching of a traditional sermon. Kip reminded his listeners--and subsequent readers--that choral services were known in the Old Testament, practiced in the ancient Church, and the undisputed practice in Reformation England. He noted that under Archbishop Cranmer the English litany was immediately set to music. In summary, he said opponents of the choral service were "arraying themselves against a usage to which the Church has held for fifteen centuries." Answering a neo-Puritan charge that singing prayers is unnatural, he cited the texts of many familiar hymns which were in reality prayers set to music. He concluded by commending this church venture which relied on the twin principles of a choral service and "Free Church" financing.[9] Kip was not merely accepting, but rather highly commendatory of this new parish.

Several signs demonstrate Bishop Kip's close alliance with St. James Church. The second Sunday of its worship life, the Parish was visited by the Lord Bishop of Honolulu, Kip's friend Bishop Staley. Staley intoned the ante-Communion, and preached. Such a visit is rare for such a young congregation and can be counted a sign of Kip's special support and encouragement. Four men were elected to represent the congregation at the May Diocesan Convention: one of them was the Bishop's younger son, William Ingraham Kip, Jr., who with his new bride was sharing the Bishop's home. The day before the inaugural worship service, Maria Kip wrote a Southern California friend and confidant about the service, adding the hope "that nothing may occur to interrupt them." When preaching for the YMCA in Grace Church later in the year, rather than relying on the choir of Grace Church, Bishop Kip invited the choirs of St. James to present appropriate music.[10] In these several ways, we see a special affinity between Bishop Kip and the parish of St. James.

St. James' Parish grew and prospered. In July, 1866 F. Dillon Eagan arrived from Philadelphia and assumed the Rectorship. In marked contrast to other Episcopal congregations in the area, St. James celebrated the Holy Communion every Sunday and on major saints' days. Soon there was a choir of more than 20 boys and the parish was widely reputed for the high quality of its music. Eagan served as general supervisor for the planning and construction of a parish church building, and arranged for the move from rented to permanent quarters. The new church, which seated 1,000 persons, opened on Easter Eve--April 20, 1867. As the procession at the opening service was about to begin, three local clergy demanded the removal of the processional cross, and when the demand was refused, they left by a back door, refusing to take part in the service. One San Francisco correspondent for the Eastern Church press noted that "neighboring clergy were quite conspicuous by their absence." Nonetheless, it seems to have had rather widespread lay support as evidenced both by its ability to secure its own building so early in its parochial life, and that there were three services each Sunday.[11] Because such matters of ritual inflamed passions, the Parish of St. James was in the center of what local ritualism controversy there was. Due to his close association with the Parish, Bishop Kip must necessarily have been "tainted."

There was continuing local dispute with regard to choral services. In July, 1867 St. Peter's Church was organized because the Rector of Grace Church dismissed the choir of men and boys, thereby offending a number of parishioners; this provided the nucleus for organizing St. Peter's Church. Meanwhile, St. James continued to thrive and soon found itself with a large coterie of choir members and acolytes which at the Thanksgiving Day service numbered more than 60 persons. Still it was necessary as late as March,1869 for Pacific Churchman to recount Bishop Kip's didactic comments at the inauguration of St. James. One is particularly struck by the Bishop's having termed opponents of the choral service as persons of folly for "the narrowness of their views."[12]

While St. James' Parish arose from the ashes of prior controversy, it began quietly and without trouble; it even began with strong episcopal support. It exhibited remarkable initial strength and grew rapidly. While there were those who complained about its ritualistic style, it nonetheless lived a quiet and active life for several years. However, that situation would not continue. St. James would soon be the center of a great storm which involved Bishop Kip.

With the end of the Civil War, and with Emancipation, it became possible for the Black American to join the Westward Movement in large numbers. It was anticipated that there would be some Blacks migrating to California to join the relatively few long-resident Black Americans. In reality, the high cost of provisioning for such a trip, as compared to the impoverished state of most recently freed Blacks, made it virtually impossible for large numbers to reach California. Both the previous resident and the newly arrived Black exhibited yearnings like those found through the general Black populace. The comforts of the Church and the possibilities of education were perhaps equally desired. So the school house and the church became nearly indistinguishable.

In San Jose, Peter Williams Cassey, a Black school teacher, gathered a small congregation of Black Episcopalians, which took the name St. Philip's Mission. For some time he served as resident layreader, and on September 18, 1866, Bishop Kip ordained him to the diaconate. Apparently Kip used the anomalous situation of Black congregations on the East Coast--including that of St. Philip's Church, New York City, with which he was quite familiar--as the model for his understanding of proper relationships between this Black congregation, his Diocese, and himself--as Bishop. He frequently visited the congregation, often more than once a year. He arranged for nearby priests to visit and celebrate the Holy Communion. Yet St.

Philip's Church was never admitted to membership in the Convention of the Diocese, and the Rev. Mr. Cassey was not an active participant in the annual Diocesan Conventions. He was regularly included in all clergy gatherings, and even in mixed racial situations took part in the conduct of public worship services in the Bishop's presence. When Cassey tried to sell shares for the further support of his small school, Bishop Kip lent his hearty public support of the venture. Yet, that very endorsement highlights one important fact, that with rare and minor exception, Cassey was responsible for the whole of his own support. In short, he was in a generally unthinkable situation by normal standards of the time--an unpaid clergyman. In 1870 his efforts were enlisted to establish and sustain a small Black congregation in San Francisco. Several established City congregations cooperated to provide a small stipend to cover travel costs to and from San Jose, but because the stipend did not fully cover the costs, and in view of the serious drain on Cassey's energies, and the consequent impairment of his ability to function effectively as teacher in San Jose, the venture in San Francisco was quickly abandoned. Without knowing the reason, we should note that Bishop Kip never ordained Cassey to the priesthood, so he remained a deacon until canonically transferred from the Diocese of California on October 19, 1881.[13] Bishop Kip's views and behavior with respect to Black people in the Episcopal Church appear similar to those throughout the nation. While events within the Diocese provided a sense of tranquility, William Ingraham Kip was once again caught up and embroiled in a dispute concerning Anglican work in Hawaii. Bishop Staley was in the United States to visit the General Convention and to seek money for the expansion of his work in Hawaii. Yet an article in the New York Evening Post labeled the Hawaiian venture an "English political intrigue." With calm indignation, Staley replied that his consecration had required a special act of Parliament dispensing English jurisdiction over the Church in Hawaii--thereby establishing an essentially independent branch of the Anglican Communion. He added that the mission was joint Anglo-American venture, including American clergy, and incorporating prayers for the President, the Congress, and other American interests, in the context of regular worship.[14] But the clamor continued and the charges increased.

Later in Staley's travels, the Boston Advocate printed two letters which answered widespread public opposition to his Anglican Mission. The first noted that as a denominationally diverse land, Hawaii ought not to be closed to the Anglican Church, and thus not closed to the presence of an Anglican Bishop, who was considered essential to the integrity of an Anglican Church. It emphasized the Bishop's desire for the active presence of American clergy. The second letter reiterated the notion that this was a joint mission, quite independent of the Church of England. It also attempted to defend Staley against the charges of being an extreme High Churchman. It then attacked the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as the source of the complaints arising throughout the nation.[15] While it is difficult to prove, in view of the reaction to Bishop Kip's anonymous article denigrating the role and effects of "the Puritan missionaries" from the American Board (in Hawaii), it is not unlikely that supporters of the Board assumed the attack originated in Hawaii and retaliated against Staley.

Meanwhile an appeal for stipends and clergy was made to the foreign missions component of the Episcopal Board of Missions in behalf of the Hawaiian mission. Without additional details, that committee declined to act, saying that granting such a request would anger the major supporters of the missionary movement--likely those Episcopalian supporters of the interdenominational American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions--while failure to support the Hawaiian Church would not alienate proponents of the Hawaiian endeavor. The committee encouraged the Bishop of Honolulu to continue his special popular appeal for funds. In this continuing appeal, Bishop Staley sought the money to provide travel money and stipend for the Reverend George B. Whipple--brother of the Bishop of Minnesota.[16]

In the face of the opposition to Staley and his work, Bishop Kip acknowledged Staley's legitimate expectation that the Bishop of California would "aid him in his work." Aware of the various stories and charges, Kip chose to use the Pacific Churchman as his vehicle for the defense of Staley. He termed charges of British political involvement in the establishment of the Hawaiian mission as "absurd stories." Acknowledging his deep and long-term involvement in arrangements necessary to establish ment of the mission, he recounted the several requests for missionary clergy from California, the refusal of both Domestic and Foreign committees of the Episcopal Church's Board of Missions to provide missionary clergy, and his own requests to the English Bishops during the summer of 1860. Bishop Kip concluded by saying he shared these facts "in justice to the Church of England and the Bishop of Honolulu." Soon there was a response from California associates of the American Board. Bishop Kip was absolved of any evil intent. But other supporters of the mission in Hawaii were still accused of having pro-British leanings. The response concluded with Kip's integrity intact, but questioning his insight and wisdom by saying "he would not on the whole, make the most astute American Secretary of State."[17] Whether the dispute ran its course and became a tiring affair for the reading public, or Bishop Kip's revelations had their intended effects, we do not know; the fracas soon disappeared from the public press.

Another national issue which arose with sudden and forceful effects was ritual practices. Several well-known young priests asked the opinion of the Presiding Bishop, John Henry Hopkins, regarding several ritual practices uncommon in the Episcopal Church. He immediately responded by publishing a small volume titled, The Law of Ritualism. In that book, he approved the use of the stone altars, Communion candles on the altar, incense and blessed oils for anointing. Though lacking any desire for using these practices, he found sufficient Scriptural warrant for them as to suggest they should be permitted throughout the Church. In this simple affirmation he directly antagonized both the old High

Churchmen and the continuing Low Church party. The former were offended by his departure from the notion of ecclesiastical uniformity and relationship to authority, while the latter were offended by the specific practices and the attempt to justify them Biblically. Angered Bishops arranged to hold a special, non-legal meeting of the House of Bishops. Some Bishops were unable to attend the special meeting--Kip among them. A consensus of those attending was that the Episcopal Church should establish uniform ritual practices, and that certain practices should be condemned, including the use of incense, Communion candles, bowing to the altar and "clerical habits hitherto unknown." A three-member committee was given responsibility for embodying these ideas in a document to be circulated for the signatures of all concurring bishops. Disturbed by these specific practices, and the prospect of ecclesiastical diversity, Bishop Kip was one of 28 Bishops who signed and publicized the document.[18] For Bishop Kip this was a merely national issue, having no direct and immediate relationship to the situation in his own Diocese. While St. James Parish had established a ritual style uncommon in the Diocese and disliked by some clergy, the tensions were relatively low level and a live and let live style adhered; there was no serious partisanship within the Diocese of California.

Over the years Kip repeatedly noted the absence of partisanship in the Diocese. Citing the internal harmony, he said, "There have never been any party lines." Reiterating the lack of discord, during an address some years later, he expressed doubt that "there is a diocese in the country which exhibits so much unanimity and harmony."[19]

Geographic isolation made it virtually impossible for William Ingraham Kip to take an active part in Episcopal Church activities outside his own Diocese. The size of the Diocese and severely limited transportation facilities were added problems and limitations. As a result of what he termed "happy ignorance of the geography of these parts" Bishop Kip was asked to take a few hours from his other duties to make a brief side trip and visitation to the Diocese of Nevada. As early as February, 1866 the Presiding Bishop asked Kip "to exercise such Episcopal jurisdiction as may be required therein." Eventually he spent the first two weeks of October, 1867 in such a visitation, which took a full 13 days. While in Nevada, he visited and conducted services at Virginia City, Dayton, Carson, Empire and Gold Hill. In the course of the visit, he conducted 13 services, confirmed 48 persons and consecrated one church. However, the limitations of time made it impossible for him to visit Austin, in the center of Nevada, where there was an extremely active parish. Recalling his own days of intense struggle to establish and maintain the Church in California, he noted that Nevada had only two Episcopal clergy, and urged young men to offer themselves for the service of the Church in Nevada.

At the General Convention of 1868, the House of Bishops determined to provide a Missionary Bishop for Nevada. Having spent this time in Nevada in the company of the Reverend Ozi Whitaker, Kip urged his selection and officially seconded his nomination for the Episcopacy. When Whitaker had been elected, and properly approved, Bishop Kip wrote him urging that the consecration take place in San Francisco. However, Whitaker preferred to return to New York for the ceremony.[20] Bishop Kip must have been greatly disappointed to have a western resident going east for consecration, especially since he had now been a bishop for more than 15 years and had yet to participate in the consecration of another man to the episcopacy. He never assisted in conveying his Order to another person.

Over the years, Kip had repeatedly urged young Eastern clergy to venture forth to California; they had come in ones and twos, though the process of identifying and making arrangements had always been long and laborious. Candidates for the ministry were required either to study privately, or to go East for training. The latter was the Bishop's preference, since he endorsed the seminary movement. He had even expressed the hope that an Associate Mission would be established in the Los Angeles area, based on the model of the Associate Mission at Nashotah, Wisconsin, which he had known and admired for so long.

Bishop Kip's yearnings were soon to be fulfilled as James Lloyd Breck-- one of the founders of Nashotah-- and a small group of theological student and faculty associates determined to move to California and establish a new Associate Mission. As at Nashotah, it was expected that the Mission would conduct a theological school and the necessary preparatory school-ing, while simultaneously having charge of several mission stations in the surrounding countryside.

Temporary local arrangements were made to permit the Mission to re-establish quickly its communal life and academic functioning. Bishop Kip took an active personal interest in the establishment of the Mission, joining three others in a late-July inspection of two different ten acre sites in San Jose, which had been offered for the use of the Associate Mission. On November 3, he met the men of the Mission as they disembarked. Soon they were settled in the temporary housing the Bishop had arranged in San Jose. In that place, they could function at once, while determining the most suitable permanent location. On December 19, Dr. Breck presented the plans for the Mission at a meeting of 13 clergy and a group of laymen of San Francisco congregations in the Kip home. It was agreed that the property of the now-defunct Benicia College and institute would be purchased in behalf of the Mission at a cost of $14,000. The Mission would raise some of the cost, with the Diocese providing the rest.[21] In a few short months, the Diocese had prepared for the coming of the Associate Mission, assisted in its establishment and nurture, and a permanent home for the Mission had been selected.

The task of confirming the work of the Mission continued into the first half of 1868. On New Year's Day, the group moved to its home in Benicia, and on January 15, its grammar school opened with Breck as headmaster, seven instructors, and 15 pupils. Simultaneously, the clergy of the Mission took responsibility for eight nearby preaching stations. After the fashion of the Nashotah system, some of the grammar school instructors were also students in the Department of Divinity, while others served as seminary teachers. In the training of these men for the ordained ministry, Bishop Kip eagerly accepted responsibility as Professor of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence. In March, Bishop Kip appointed the trustees of what was then called the Missionary College of St. Augustine, with himself as *ex officio* President; James Lloyd Breck, Dean; the Reverend J. A. Merrick, Professor of Theology, Clerk of the Trustees; and one clergyman and eight prominent laymen as members. The appointments were confirmed when the school was legally incorporated on June 13, 1868.[22]

Bishop Kip heartily supported the work in Benicia. He had long admired the results of Breck's self-sacrificial style of life and ministry. Kip had long encouraged the establishment of Church schools in California, while decrying the difficulties of having men travel East for seminary education. He had helped find the Mission's temporary home, and committed the Diocese to underwriting part of the cost of purchasing the permanent facilities. The Bishop urged the Diocese to support the Mission and College, expressing deep appreciation for the aid they rendered the Diocese. One brief acknowledgment notes Bishop Kip's contribution of a two-volume history to the School library; it is reasonable to assume the Bishop may have donated other items to the library. Writing to the Church at large, Bishop Kip mentioned the purchase of the Benicia facilities and urged the whole Church to contribute toward the Associate Mission's portion of the cost. Writing to an Eastern supporter of the Mission, Breck commended Bishop Kip for his good will and active support in the work.[23]

As if the school and preaching stations were not sufficient labors, Bishop Kip asked the Associate Mission to assume responsibility for editing Pacific Churchman. The departing editor gratefully commended Bishop Kip for "the warm and steadfast support which, by both pen and purse, he has ever extended in aid of this small journal." This accolade suggests the high degree of importance Kip assigned Pacific Churchman as a vehicle for information. Assigning such an important Diocesan work to the Mission suggests the high degree of reliance he placed on these men. Members of the Mission had barely taken the paper under hand when Bishop Kip confidently announced there could be "no better guarantee for its tone and character." Rather than enthusiasm, Breck privately expressed a sense of mere duty in this new task, saying, "...you know the Pacific Churchman has been added to our cares. It was not exactly fair to put it upon us; but it appeared to be our duty to take it." Even publicly an editorialist said, "We sometimes think the very asking it of us was cruel to the great interests already at stake in our hands." He added that this new responsibility was accepted as a matter of proper ecclesiastical obedience to the Bishop, because otherwise the paper would have ceased its existence, and because the paper was a worthwhile venture. The paper's struggle for survival was demonstrated a few months later when Bishop Kip donated $100 towards its expenses, and encouraged others to make voluntary contributions. Making his position on the survival of the paper quite clear, the Bishop said, "I should regard its loss as a most serious injury to the Diocese."[24] The members of the Associate Mission were involved in three great struggles for survival: that of the Missionary College, that of the nearby preaching stations, and that of the Pacific Churchman.

The Diocese seemed quiet and at peace. The difficulties were of a monetary nature; it was in this area that there was a brief flurry of discussion and anguish during early 1867. An anonymous layman submitted material to the Daily Alta Californian, which after being printed there found its way into the national Church press. Statistics showed that since 1854 William Ingraham Kip had received a total income of $19,292.00 from the Diocese and his several rectorships. During the same period he had expended $80,000.00 in the interests of the Diocese, meaning that it had cost Bishop Kip more than $60,000.00 to serve as Bishop of the Diocese. The anonymous author noted that the statistics should "bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of the wealthy members." A response to the Pacific Churchman admitted the accuracy of the data, but termed the resort to the public (secular) press "wanting in delicacy" because "soiled linen" should always be washed "less publicly". However, it was admitted that the anonymous writer's offense was not so great as to "throw any shadow to conceal the enormity of ours." A California correspondent of the Church Journal reported that the articles in question "disturbed the equanimity of California Churchmanship." He went on to score the Church for its "gross moral dereliction" as demonstrated by the financial dealings.[25] Once more, the financial stability of the Diocese and support of the Bishop were matters for discussion, and remained unsolved. The flurry was brief and the Diocese soon resumed its placid quality.

Even St. James Parish, San Francisco, which a year later would be embroiled in controversy, was a place of tranquility. Continuing its ritualism and choral services, the Parish had a choir of over 50 voices, and was growing rapidly. With no resulting difficulties, St. James secured the services of Professor McDougal, who was formerly of St. Peter's Parish, and before that had been dismissed from Grace Church. In February, 1868 St. James' began a Parish Day School with an initial enrollment of 35 students. Its Rector, the Reverend F. Dillon Eagan, conducted special sign language, preaching services for the deaf of San Francisco. Bishop Kip's close connection with the parish was continued in the regular presence of his family and William, Junior's membership on the Vestry.[26] It was a scene of steady and untroubled progress under the beneficent eye of the Bishop.

Selected as a trustee of the San Francisco Female Hospital, Kip declined to serve because he preferred to establish a similar institution within the framework of the Church. Soon a circular was issued urging support of this projected Diocesan institution, and a physician engaged to head the institution. Some public consternation was occasioned by this attempt to found simultaneously a second and similar medical institution. It was added that there was no serious opposition to Kip's establishing "a hospital for the treatment of diseases peculiar to pious women." Urging financial support of this project, Kip reminded the people of the Diocese that San Francisco residents faced two alternatives: the city hospital--which he implied was a demeaning choice--and "the dangers of the Romish Hospital, where no effort to proselyte is neglected." Though the hospital was soon established, Bishop Kip continued to urge support of the institution. Four years later, in mid-October, 1872, the evening services in all San Francisco parishes were "dispensed with" in order that all Episcopalians in the City would be free to attend a meeting at which Kip spoke in behalf of the hospital. Expanding upon his fears as regards the Roman Catholic hospital, with a scornful quality he said that patients in the Roman hospital found "their faith was tampered with and every effort made, in hours of bodily and mental weakness, to win them from the Church in which their lives had been passed."[27] In this simple way, yet with great struggle, and with financial difficulties, the institution which was to become St. Luke's hospital, was founded with the Bishop's strong encouragement.

Because the situation in California was untroubled, it was possible for William Ingraham Kip to plan another trip to the Atlantic Coast States. Once more he planned to combine Church business, personal business and relaxation. The General Convention of the Episcopal Church was scheduled to meet at Trinity Church in New York City during the month of October. Bishop Kip also spoke of "domestic affairs" and "family reasons" as justifications for the journey. Though scheduled to leave San Francisco three days after the end of the Diocesan Convention, the ship's departure was rescheduled and the Bishop and his wife departed at the precise moment the Convention was being convened.[28]

Having frequently made the trip from San Francisco to Panama, across the Isthmus, and up the East Coast to New York City, Bishop Kip considered this a common-place occurrence for himself and many others. At least the entire journey to Panama was attended with "favorable breezes and a smooth sea." Happily there were no mechanical difficulties en route. While the Kips were not directly affected, the Bishop noted that a recent fare reduction allowed many persons who might ordinarily travel Second Class to enter the First Class area, and by virtue of their large numbers had become a "sweltering mass of mortality." Just before reaching Panama, the measles broke out among the nearly 100 children aboard, giving rise to a fear of epidemic once the group reached the eastern side of Panama. One of the men on board contracted smallpox, raising fears of an epidemic later. Yet similar problems and worse had attended earlier previous voyages with the Kips. As a result, these experiences and fears were tame by comparison. But because of unusual and intense heat he spoke of this trip as being "in some respects, the most trying passage I have ever made." Crossing the Isthmus, he was impressed by the cool breezes and the "delightful ride as our train swept through these tropical forests." Yet the recollections of his first crossing plunged him into a reflective mood and a recognition of the true price of the construction of the railroad which he rode. Aware of the sacrifices of the railroad workmen, Kip reminded Californians that they had been sunk "by hundreds under the malarious influences, and almost every foot is said to have cost a human life." The trip from Panama to New York was marred by the death of a seventeen-year-old girl orphaned while in California. In the course of her last hours, Bishop Kip reenacted the paradigm of every concerned pastor. She mentioned his name about midnight and he was called, coming at once. He sought to share personal and Scriptural words of comfort, doubting both that she either recognized him or understood the words. When he began the familiar words of the Lord's prayer, he was deeply moved when line by line she repeated them after him. After remaining by the bedside for about an hour and a half, he went to his bed. Early the next morning he returned to her side, reading the familiar words of prayer for one about to die, when she "passed away so quietly that the precise moment she ceased to breathe could not be told." Without flourish, the Bishop recorded simply, "There is a gloom throughout the steamer to-day."[29]

Most of June the Kips spent in quiet and privacy, perhaps handling family business matters. On June 25, 1868, the Bishop was in New Haven, Connecticut where he attended a meeting of young people interested in the missions of the Church. There he reviewed a march of 1,200 members of the "Domestic Missionary Army of the Young Soldiers of Christ." The following day he was at the graduation ceremony of the General Theological Seminary in New York. Being the senior Bishop present, he was officiant and preacher. After the fashion of all commencement sermons and addresses, he warned the graduates of future discouragements, reminded them of their future roles in directing "the destinies of the Church" and urged fidelity to the Church and their calling. But in the midst of these remarks, he took occasion to join the growing battle over Churchmanship and ritualism. He warned that the Episcopal Church was under attack from within, and repeated St. Paul's warning that the greatest danger is from "false brethren." Identifying the Apostolic Succession of bishops as "that great fact on which all is based" and terming that succession the "keystone of the Church," he reminded his listeners that there were active attempts to undermine this doctrine of the Church. He urged that these young men "hold fast" to the doctrine of Apostolic Succession.[30] While the General Seminary was a relatively safe High Church environment, he could count on his words being repeated throughout the Church press. Though he preferred to maintain a discreet and cautious silence, Bishop Kip apparently felt that it was necessary for bishops clearly to identify their perspectives in advance of the coming General Convention.

The Kips began their leisurely sightseeing tour with a three-week visit in Gardiner, Maine. There the simple grave of his late brother-in-law, Bishop George Burgess, brought to mind Burgess's example of quiet, uncomplaining liberality, faith and energy. Drawing comparisons between the Dioceses of Maine and those of Nebraska and Colorado, he spoke of the impact of "the Romance of missions." Kip pointed out that with 60,000 inhabitants, the Diocese of Colorado was the recipient of liberal donations for missions, while in Maine there was a single county with 60,000 inhabitants and neither Church presence, nor donations for missionary endeavor. He recounted reports that the Missionary Bishop of Nebraska was the recipient of such liberal benefactions that he was able to erect a church in every Nebraska town of 500 or more residents, while in Maine Kip could "point to town after town without any religious services, even that of any of the sects." Expressing surprise that Eastern Churchmen had ignored the needs and claims of the Diocese of Maine, Kip firmly questioned the propriety of existing missionary priorities.[31]

Next the Kips took a nostalgic journey through Canada to Nashotah. On the train trip through the Quebec countryside, the Bishop was pleasantly reminded of many European towns. Though seeing Roman Catholic churches, he could not avoid reflecting that they show "the hold they have retained since the days of French rule." After brief visits in Montreal and Toronto, the Kips went to Detroit and then Milwaukee. Traveling through Michigan, the Kips saw many German immigrants. In a subtle display of latent Nativism, the Bishop observed that they were "carrying every conceivable kind of antiquated instruments of husbandry which they have brought from the Fatherland."[32] Soon they were in Milwaukee.

Two days were spent at Nashotah with an additional day in the surrounding area. With care and sophistication, the Bishop wrote comparatively of the Nashotah of early days and that which was before him. He spoke of log cabins replaced with stone buildings and of rude frontier architecture replaced by refined English-style buildings. There was commendation for a library admirably suited to the seminary training of young men. Then he took time and space to comment upon the growth of nearby parishes which had been founded and nurtured by Nashotah faculty and students. Throughout this travelogue, there was high praise for years and lives of self-sacrificing dedicated service in the interests of advancing the work of the Church in this area. Ever so gently, Kip repeatedly commended the supportive efforts of laity both in the United States and England, for providing the financial backing for both School and parishes. Trying to imagine a Wisconsin devoid of Nashotah, he said "the Northwest would have been indeed spiritually desolate." In this observation, Kip confirmed his opinion that Nashotah was an essential ingredient in the strength and stability of the Church in Wisconsin. He ended his seemingly simple travel observations with an ardent plea. The Missionary College of St. Augustine, he said, had the potential for functioning in California as Nashotah had in Wisconsin, "if the members of our Church will come forward to its support." Without equivocation, he added:

> "but we need funds for buildings--for a chapel--for a library--and can only live in the hope, that one day the Churchmen of our coast will awaken to the fact of its importance...."[33]

In reality this matter-of-factly written travelogue was a sophisticated fund raising appeal for the Associate Mission and its Missionary College of St. Augustine in Benicia. Ostensibly a simple description of Nashotah, its real purpose was to raise funds for the California venture.

The Kips then spent four weeks of relative leisure in Milwaukee, where the Bishop preached each Sunday in a different church. Both publicly and privately the Bishop spoke of California and the needs of the Church there; he was particularly earnest in his attempt to raise funds for the Missionary College. Having mentioned his preaching and fund-raising activities, Kip added:

> "Would that our Church people could awaken to the importance of this institution and see that for all they spend, it will pay them back a thousand fold!"[34]

The next stop on their journey was made at Racine College, Wisconsin. The Bishop was favorably impressed by the Reverend Dr. James DeKovan, Warden of the College, who was already at the center of controversy as the nationally known leader of Episcopal ritualists.[35] Apparently fearing no adverse reaction from Low Churchmen in California, and without explicitly approving DeKoven's ritualism, Kip spoke of the schools at Racine as "pervaded with the spirit of the Church and under the direction of Dr. DeKoven." Summarizing the athletic, academic and religious program of the schools, he particularly praised the high quality of the choral service sung by the boys' choir. In his continuing effort to support St. Augustine's College, Kip specifically mentioned that it was on the model of the Racine schools that the Benicia institutions were based.[36]

The Kips then returned to New York City. Making brief stops in Chicago, Detroit, and Niagara Falls, they passed quickly through Albany, seeing but a few friends at trainside, and arrived back where they had begun the tour. Commenting mostly about his own conduct of services and preaching, Kip frequently mentioned visiting and hearing about Church institutions established and maintained by local benefactions. In one New Jersey parish, which he visited after returning to New York, a collection was taken for the support of St. Augustine's Missionary College.[37] Once again we see Bishop Kip subtly encouraging the wealthy of his Diocese to emulate these Eastern practices which he carefully reported. He hoped these recitations would encourage the liberal endowment and support of St. Augustine's College.

The Kips had spent nearly two months in a journey which provided multiple opportunities. First, it provided time for relaxation and the nostalgia for people and places visited in the 1840's. Second, it provided opportunity to draw comparisons and write encouragingly of the prospects for St. Augustine's Missionary College, including the need for local support of the endeavor. Third, it allowed a personal inspection and assessment of the condition of the Church in that area, where the old Hobartian style High Churchmanship was entrenched and the new ritualism rising. In the course of this examination he had occasion to speak with six bishops, including one in Canada. He spoke with a large number of both resident and touring clergy. In the course of preaching, officiating, and simply touring, he had occasion to speak with large numbers of laity. These many conversations expanded his horizons, taking him above the insularity of California, and aided his preparation for the forthcoming General Convention.

As the General Convention opened, Bishop Kip surveyed the members of the House of Bishops, rejoicing in the "display of strength in the Church" as evidenced by the unified and untroubled presence of both Northern and Southern bishops. In 1865 there had been no evidence of disunity on the basis of political sectional rivalry. But the absence of most Southern bishops made it less than a display of ecclesiastical unity. The opening service in 1868 was proof of Kip's earlier statement that the bishops would be gathered in unbroken fellowship as "the only united National Church. The sects have all parted in hopeless alienation." He found this display of unity both deeply moving and profoundly satisfying.[38]

The great debates of the General Convention of 1868 raged around the issue of ritualism. Though the Book of Common Prayer provided for unity of content in worship services throughout the Episcopal Church, there was no uniformity in the matter of practices associated with worship. The desire for unanimity in ritual observances was typified by one petition which asked that the General Convention enact canons to "enforce uniformity in Divine worship in all our parishes."[39] Specific acts under discussion included the nature and use of vestments, candlesticks, crucifixes, bowing and genuflecting, singing in procession, all commonly associated with the Roman Catholic Church. During the Convention the Evangelicals and the Hobartian High Churchmen--including Bishop Kip--cooperated. They feared that these "new" practices were evidence of attempts to deny fundamental principles of the Reformation and lead the Episcopal Church back to the Roman Communion. In short, there were those who genuinely feared that the essentials of the Church were under attack. Nevertheless, all attempts to enact canonical provisions and Prayer Book rubrics to carefully and specifically control the ritual failed. Finally, the House of Bishops appointed a committee of five bishops--three old High Churchmen and two Evangelicals--to study the many issues involved, rendering a report with recommendations, to the General Convention of 1871.[40]

The traditional confidential style of the House of Bishops totally cloaks the content of debates and hides individual positions on many of the votes. So, it is hard to determine Bishop Kip's views and actions on these issues. Later, when summarizing the events of the Convention to his own Diocesan Convention, Kip praised the moderation of the General Convention, which had rejected the "radicalism" of both the ritualists and the Evangelicals. Placing himself in the company of many old High Churchmen, Bishop Kip condemned ritualism, which he said was "perverting the services of the Church, to inculcate, through its symbolism, doctrines which allied it to the Church of Rome." He also mentioned the Pastoral Letter of the house of Bishops, which was "devoted to condemning those innovations of dress and ceremonies which have lately been introduced." He concluded by reminding the clergy that they had been enjoined to conform to the judgment of their Diocesan Bishop in matters of ritual.[41] Yet when we recall Bishop Kip's strong support of the San Francisco Parishes of St. James and

St. Peter's and their use of some of the ritual items and practices under debate, it is obvious that he allowed wide latitude in parochial worship practices.

Contemporary and later accounts of the General Convention of 1868 focus almost exclusively on the debates on ritualism, ignoring attention given to High Church complaints with reference to the behavior of the Evangelical wing of the Church. It is interesting to note that in his summary of the Convention, Bishop Kip devoted greater time and detailed comment to this aspect of the Convention than he had done to the matter of ritualism. He emphasized two decisions. First, he applauded the refusal to weaken provisions barring one clergyman from functioning in the parish boundaries of another person's cure. He gave clear warning to his own clergy by demonstrating the decision in examples concocted from known California situations. Second, he was pleased when the Convention reaffirmed the principle of Apostolic Succession in the ministry by reiterating the prohibition on non-Episcopal clergy preaching in Episcopal churches.[42] Bishop Kip believed that in the course of the Convention, the Church had taken a properly moderate stance both with reference to the desires of the ritualists and those of the Evangelicals.

Routine business was also conducted by the General Convention of 1868. With the majority, Kip voted to permit bishops to authorize the use--in their respective dioceses--of materials from two hymnals, in addition to the then-authorized collection of hymns. This was in keeping with his view that the Church should be open to the use of a wide variety of sources, in order to emphasize the catholicity and promote the visible unity of the Church. Of course, he expected that in such a spirit of openness the Church would never deny its doctrine and heritage. In 1865 Bishop Kip had been appointed to a committee of bishops which was to report concerning the "Russo-Greek Church." When the report of that committee was submitted in 1868 Bishop Kip's name was not included as a member, while that of Bishop John F. Young, of Florida, who had not been appointed to the committee did appear as a signatory. Nonetheless, when a new committee was appointed for the purpose of conferring with the Governing Synod of the Holy Orthodox Church in Russia, with specific reference to a possible formal relationship between the Episcopal Church and the Russian Church in Alaska, Bishop Kip was appointed.[43] Likely this appointment was made in recognition of the presence in California of some members of the Russian Orthodox Communion.

The Kips remained in New York only briefly after the close of the Convention. On November 2, he attended the funeral of the Reverend Dr. John McVickar, a widely-known and revered priest of the Diocese of New York. Having been a member of the committee which conducted ordination examinations, and active in other Diocesan committees, McVickar had been involved in the many difficulties of the Diocese, and Kip had known him during the New York years. Being a long-time acquaintance, and the senior bishop present, Kip was called to chair a meeting at which resolutions of condolence were written and signed. A week later, the Kips began their return trip to California.[44]

Upon returning to San Francisco, Bishop Kip again faced the problem of a salary delinquency. Finally, on February 8, 1869 he wrote a stern letter of complaint to the Standing Committee of the Diocese. He pointed out that of the $6,000 annual salary established nearly a year before, slightly more than $1,500 had been paid. The twelve-year old fund for the endowment of the Episcopate had a $900 balance. With a salary arrearage for many years, Bishop Kip warned the people that he could no longer "bear this drain upon my means," adding that during his 15 years in California "the wealthy men of this Diocese have suffered me to spend my fortune in ministering to the Churches to which they belong." After considering the situation in which Kip found himself, the Standing Committee announced that "to save himself from serious pecuniary embarrassment he would be under the absolute necessity of becoming a non-resident, unless his support was put on a proper footing." When the Diocesan Convention convened, the Bishop had been paid slightly more than half his annual salary, and the matter of salary arrearage was ignored by the Convention. However, it was resolved to raise an endowment of $50,000 for the support of the Bishop.[45] Bishop Kip had rather forcefully expressed his anger, and the Convention again failed in its responsibility.

William Ingraham Kip was Bishop of California, and talk of his living elsewhere appears to have been an idle threat. The intention to remain in San Francisco was made clear when Kip purchased the former home of U. S. Supreme Court Justice

Stephen J. Field. There he took up residence with his wife, his son and daughter-in-law and their two children, and three illiterate Irish house servants.[46] Ill-treatment and anger notwithstanding, the Bishop determined to continue to use his private resources to maintain himself and his family in California.

Meanwhile, most Diocesan business proceeded routinely. Continuing his regular parochial Visitations, the Bishop found the Diocese undergoing slow but steady growth. The same was true of the Missionary College of St. Augustine, in Benicia. During the course of the year the Bishop visited Benicia on several occasions. Once he was accompanied by the Bishop of Oregon, another time he observed the routine examination of students, and attended the meeting of the Board of Trustees. He was deeply pleased by the development of the school.[47] Having been directly involved in the abortive attempt to establish Trinity College of Larkin, and in the less-than-durable girls' school associated with Grace Church, as well as in endeavors to encourage and nurture other schools, it appeared that Kip was finally associated with a school with good prospects for survival and valuable service to both Church and wider community.

Meanwhile, great trouble developed at St. James' Parish, San Francisco. It seems the Bishop's family continued its close association with the Parish, and the Bishop visited frequently to preach and assist with services.[48] Soon, the Vestry compelled the Rector, the Reverend F. Dillon Eagan, to resign. While Pacific Churchman maintained a discreet silence, it was alleged that Eagan had collected several thousand dollars with which to retire the mortgage on St. James and then used the money for personal purposes. Soon it was announced that while the Sunday School would continue to function, worship services would be temporarily discontinued. Inexplicably, a month later, the public press reported that the Rev. Mr. Eagan would be preaching again at the morning service, with the Bishop preaching in the evening. During this period of cancelled and rescheduled services, the Bishop wrote of the Parish's enduring a $35,000 debt, and his having offered the Rectorship to Archdeacon Mason, of the Hawaiian mission. During the search for a new Rector, Bishop Kip took charge of the Parish.[49]

The difficulties could not be solved by the selection of a new Rector. While it is hard to judge the Bishop's personal reaction to the character of Eagan, we do know that Eagan had disliked the Bishop for several years. Using the columns of the public press and the helpful cloak of anonymity, Eagan had castigated Kip as a "monarch" and the "high and mighty one of San Francisco." Eagan then suggested that "king William" was engaged in a personal vendetta against the Rector of St. James' Parish because of slight doctrinal differences, and the personal antagonism of the Bishop's son. Eagan later suggested that "Lord William California" was working against him as a result of being caught up in a host of untrue and malignant rumors. It is clear that Eagan's emotions and antagonism to Bishop Kip had been inflamed from the earliest days of his ministry as Rector of St. James' Parish. Yet, in the midst of the disturbances of 1869 the paper which published Eagan's anonymous contributions, thereby tacitly approving the characterizations of an imperial Kip, now explicitly altered its view of the personalities involved. The editor directly said:

> "it has long since been plain that the right lay with the Bishop, and that Mr. Eagan--worse than a mere charlatan--is a thoroughly bad man.[50]

So the issue was joined rather harshly in the public press.

While Kip urged the selection of Archdeacon Mason, the Vestry selected the Reverend A. C. Garrett, who was characterized as "an able preacher, but of very low-church proclivities." On the other hand, Mason was known as a High Churchman. As a result, Bishop Kip found Garrett obnoxious, and expressed his desire to find means to keep Garrett from being named Rector. Ultimately, however, Garrett did replace Eagan. Slightly less than two years later, Kip deposed Eagan from the ministry.[51]

Even in personal affairs, late 1869 was a difficult time for Bishop Kip. For several weeks, an illness confined him to his room. In Pacific Churchman, it was reported to be "a sudden and dangerous attack of illness." When he first left the house, the Bishop sadly attended the funeral of the Reverend Dr. Orange Clark, the oldest presbyter in the Diocese, and one of the few men with whom Kip had a long and warm relationship.[52]

As 1870 arrived, the situation of St. James' Parish was no better and it was necessary to make arrangements for liquidating the parish debt. As a result, Kip assumed the Rectorship, thereby securing the combined rights of Rector and Corporation Sole of the Diocese, and having all rights to sell all property owned by the Parish. The Rev. Mr. Garrett, who served only briefly as Rector, continued to serve the Parish as Assistant Minister, with total responsibility for the pastoral affairs of the congregation. Within less than a month, the property had been sold, and the congregation began meeting in the YMCA Hall. Within about six weeks, that Hall was given up, the organ, books and Sunday School materials were stored in Bishop Kip's barn, Garrett was gone, and activity was reduced to the conduct of a Sunday School. In the absence of continuing clergy presence, parishioners asked that Bishop Kip license a layreader, who could conduct choral services for them. Since subsequent public notices mention only Sunday School activities, it appears that Kip refused to make such an appointment and provide for regular public worship. In early May, the Reverend W. H. Milburn, a blind clergyman, visited St. James and spoke to the Sunday School; there was no mention of preaching or conduct of services during that visit. In mid-May, Bishop Kip answered the requests of a lay committee saying that St. James "will be revived in about three months," and that in the interval parishioners could attend other parishes, adding that the choir could be preserved by a one hour per week meeting under the direction of Mr. Garrett, who continued to reside in the area. While Bishop Kip retained tight control of the situation, there can be little doubt that he seriously intended to "revive" St. James Church since in late July, his son accepted nomination to the Board of Directors of the YMCA, listing himself as affiliated with St. James Episcopal Church. (Board members were considered representatives of particular congregations throughout their terms.) In early september, the Reverend Mr. Garrett commenced worship services for St. James Church at the Masonic Temple.[53] While we do not know the reasons, there is no doubt that the timetable and decisions in this matter were solely Bishop Kip's.

A few days after announcing the temporary cessation of public worship at St. James, Kip was approached by Mr. William G. Badger, and other lay leaders from that parish. They requested permission to found a new church. Refusing the assent required for proper and official organization, the Bishop warned that the Church's cause "is injured by the multiplication of half-filled and half-supported Churches." Nonetheless, the new Parish, St. Alban's, was organized and a Vestry elected. The nucleus of the new congregation was the Sunday School and vested choir from St. James Parish. As had been the case at the founding of St. James, the leaders of St. Alban's announced that it would be a "free Episcopal Church, with full choral service." Both within and without the Church, there was no doubt as to the nature and origin of this congregation. One cautious public source matter-of-factly stated that St. Alban's congregation "grew out of the Episcopal Mission Sunday School, W. G. Badger, Superintendent."[54] In support of the principles of a strong

Sunday School, a Free Church system, and the choral service, Badger had led an enduring core of lay people into three separate formal organizations: the Episcopal Mission Sunday School, St. James Parish and now the new St. Alban's congregation. There could be no doubt that he and the core group had both principles and tenacity. Though they had been pleased to have Bishop Kip and his family consider St. James' Parish their family church, they were equally willing to defy the Bishop in defense of their principles.

Meanwhile Bishop Kip was actively assisting remnants of the congregation of St. James' Parish. In September, Bishop Kip arranged for resumption of worship services, and the principles of the parish were reiterated. It would continue as a Free Church with choral services, and in addition to the Sunday freewill offering to support the parish, income was to be augmented by formal subscriptions (or pledges). Bishop Kip must have been pleased with parish debts paid, dissidents gone, and the full functioning of the parish resumed. However, in mid-October Kip found himself an unwilling defendant in San Francisco's Fifteenth District Court, where F. Dillon Eagan, the former Rector of St. James, was suing him and the Vestry. Eagan's complaint alleged that he was due payment of $2,000 for salary arrearages and since the Bishop, acting in behalf of the Vestry, had hired him, Kip was necessarily and properly a party in the action. The ensuing trial gave one reporter the opportunity to make a number of acid comments on the personalities and principles at issue. Suggesting that this was basically a case of "spiritual jealousy," he noted that while Kip was largely victorious "St. James' Church was well nigh to a ruined institution." Writing of the power of self-interest for both clergy and laity when money is involved, he said of both Eagan and Kip that "memory becomes confused, consciences become elastic, and there is a general revulsion of ordinary feeling when the clergyman comes to take the witness stand." Declaring the written contract between Kip and Eagan null and void on the basis of technical points of canon law, the judge dismissed Eagan's case, with the recommendation that it be subsequently pursued on the basis of seeking recovery of costs for services in furtherance of an implied contract. Thereupon Eagan's attorney amended the complaint and the case was set over to the next term of the court. With understandable irritation the newspaper reporter noted that this attempt to wash dirty linen in public should have been unnecessary because the matter ought to have been solved in private. He opined that "Eagan ought to have been paid for his services," adding the familiar Biblical phrase: The laborer is worthy of his hire.[55]

The difficulties with St. Alban's congregation continued. A few days before the Eagan trial, Kip met in his home with a committee from that congregation for a lengthy discussion of their situation. Continuing to meet without proper Episcopal consent, the congregation sought recognition. Ultimately, the Bishop referred the matter to the Standing Committee of the Diocese. In his absence, the Committee would have been responsible for giving or withholding consent. On behalf of the congregation, Badger visited and discussed the matter with each member of the Committee. On December 8, 1870 the Committee met and advised Kip to continue to withhold consent to the legal organization of a parish church to be known as St. Alban's. Writing the secretary of the St. Alban's Vestry, Kip said the purpose of the referral "was to show that in my decision, I was not actuated by personal feelings."[56] Likely, there were "personal feelings" in the situation, but at least they were shared by members of the Standing Committee.

As the confrontation proceeded, yet another clergyman was to find himself in ecclesiastical difficulty. Mr. Badger had led the group through three organizations. The clergyman in the first one was deposed from the Ministry. A minister from the second one was dismissed from the Rectorship and engaged in an unpleasant public court case against the Bishop, before being eventually deposed from the Ministry. In this third organization, a minister would escape deposition only because he was not ecclesiastically tied to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

The Reverend A. K. Macsorley, an Anglican priest from Australia, began regular worship services from St. Alban's congregation. When Bishop Kip protested his behavior, the priest replied with great and feigned innocence. He had not intended to aid the disruption of the Church in San Francisco, he had merely "found a number of people, orderly and decent, at the Church hour, with a very large choir, ready for Divine Service."

He then protested that these active Churchmen "had acted strictly in accordance with the canons of the Church" and ought therefore be recognized as a duly constituted Episcopal parish. He closed his letter to the Bishop, urging that the Bishop "think not that I wish to act in a spirit of opposition to you." Such a thin veneer of protested innocence could not lessen Kip's anger. He noted that Macsorley was "fully informed" of the "irregular and schismatical character of the congregation of St. Alban's." He firmly added, "You are not competent to decide on the necessity of these services." Then, asserting his proper legal rights and responsibilities, Kip closed by saying, "I am not going to argue this question," warning Macsorley that should he officiate at worship services again, the Bishop would publicly advertise to warn Church people about Macsorley and "notify your Bishop of your intrusion into this Diocese." When Macsorley persisted the Bishop placed an anathematizing notice in Pacific Churchman. Nonetheless, St. Alban's continued to thrive and later that year had a regular Sunday worship service and a Sunday School with over 550 pupils and a library of 2,000 volumes.[57]

Bishop Kip's difficulties and opportunities were increased by a Russian Orthodox bishop. In mid-July, 1870 the imminent arrival of Bishop John, styled the Most Holy Bishop of America and the Aleutian Islands, was announced. It was expected that he would save the Russian faithful from the heresies of American denominations. Still, friendship for the Episcopal Church was professed. This news must have pleased Bishop

Kip, since it would allow him to fulfill some of his responsibilities as a member of the House of Bishops' Committee to confer with the Holy Russian Synod. It was not until mid-October that Bishop John arrived in San Francisco. In early November, Bishop John paid a ceremonial call on Bishop Kip, only to discover he was absent. Bishop John spent a brief time in conversation with the ladies of the Kip family. It was December before Kip was able to return the courtesy and the two bishops had a cordial half-hour talk.

While the presence of the Russian dignitary and his party was beneficial to Kip in pursuit of his national responsibilities, there was one unfortunate event. The leaders of St. Alban's congregation invited Bishop John and his party to attend services. In his ignorance of the local ecclesiastical situation, the Bishop accepted. He appeared at the service attended by a retinue including an assisting priest, the Russian Consul, the Greek Consul, and some Russian laity. Though in an antagonistic relationship with its own Bishop, this congregation gained great prestige and credibility from the willing presence of yet another Bishop. Bishop John was invited to preach, but declined because of the dogmatic distinctions between the Russian and Episcopal Churches.[58] Considering the situation of St. Alban's "parish," this refusal must have pleased Kip, while with reference to ecumenical issues(cooperation and/or intercommunion) it must have been disquieting.

The Vestry accused Bishop Kip of approaching parishioners and "trying to intimidate them and dissuade them from attending our services by threats of excommunication." They further accused Kip of a personal enmity toward one member of the Vestry. The public press picked up this charge, assuming William Badger to be the target of the Bishop's antagonism. Yet one periodical, which had never been a particular friend of Bishop Kip, added: "if so, it is easy to understand and quite as easy to excuse." Yet this was not said before the same publication had castigated Badger as "originally a low church chrysalis...now a Ritualistic butterfly." Further, Badger was accused of taking Macsorley "into schism" and playing upon the "limited English of the recently arrived Russian Bishop" to lend an air of respectability to a schismatic congregation. It concluded by saying that Badger had tricked Bishop Johns "into sanctioning schism by his presence." Even the music director of the Parish, Mr. W. J. Macdougall, who in company with the choir had been dismissed from Grace Church, helped form St. Peter's Church, and was now at St. Alban's Church, became embroiled in a public controversy concerning the appearance of a singer at a Parish sponsored concert.[59] Even with the experience of the difficult days in mining camps, amid the antagonisms of early clergy, and continually facing the financial difficulties of the Church in California, it was not easy for Bishop Kip to cope with this rebellious and publicly scandalous situation.

Theodore B. Lyman, Rector of Trinity Church seems to have been essential in controlling the situation.[60] Through June, 1871, Macsorley continued to officiate for the congregation of St. Alban's. Assessing the situation, Lyman was concerned because of the "great peril" facing his parish and the entire Diocese. He was encouraged by the reactions of those both within and outside his parish. But the extreme divisiveness represented by the continued separate existence of St. Alban's ran through February, 1873. Then Trinity Church took responsibility for sponsorship of St. Alban's, the latter ceasing to exist independently and becoming a part of Trinity Church under the name of Trinity Chapel.[61] In this way, the situation was regularized and the disaffection of years began to subside.

By this time, James Lloyd Breck's work in Benicia had become a mixed blessing. Some students had completed theological study, successfully passed ordination examinations, and been ordained and assigned to congregations. There were nearly 100 pupils in residence at Benicia. A new building had been erected at the moderate cost of $5,000. The Diocese of California owed a mere $2,400 on its pledge toward the initial purchase price of the Benicia facilities. Yet, when Bishop Kip visited the school in early June, 1870, it must have been with mixed feelings. The total debt of the Missionary College of St. Augustine was about $30,000. In view of that debt, the lack of both collegiate and seminary students newly enrolling, and the general inability of the institution to generate the semi-monastic quality which had adhered to Nashotah, changes seemed warranted. Dr. Breck resigned as Dean, remaining as Rector of St. Paul's Parish, Benicia, with the intention of establishing a school for girls. Meanwhile the college and seminary functions were suspended and a new director selected for the grammar school. The clergy who had been connected with the Associate Mission were scattered, so that too had ceased to exist.[62] Bishop Kip could only join the rest of the Trustees in sadly surveying the ruins of a once-exciting dream.

In spite of various difficulties, essentially routine patterns of life continued for Bishop Kip--including Episcopal Visitations. In early 1871 he made his first visit to Humboldt County on the north coast of California. In the knowledge that the rocky north coast area was a graveyard for ships, Kip endured a rough and stormy voyage, ending in a slightly delayed crossing of the sand bar across the mouth of Humboldt Bay. He was awed by the "primeval forests" which served as a backdrop for this bustling town of 2,500 inhabitants. Yet, he could not ignore the near total isolation which caused Eureka to be "cut off from the world, the only communication being by the uncertain steamers." Nonetheless, the new Rector of the parish in Eureka had arrived to find a complete church, fully appointed, without debt. Bishop Kip was duly impressed by the liberality of key parishioners. Though this was the center of the rugged north coast lumber industry, Kip echoed the strains of his aristocratic upbringing by praising the way in which this small parish "is attracting to itself the most cultivated portion of the community." As a result of delays in preparing the church for consecration, and steamer problems, the Bishop stayed longer than intended, remaining slightly more than three weeks in the area. During that time, he conducted services in Arcata--a few miles north--preached ten times, confirmed three times, and dedicated the church. As has been the case of visitors in that area over the decades, he was treated to the awe-inspiring sights of the area: the forests, the ocean and many beach vistas,and the enticing properties of the temperate climate.[63] This was a period of refreshment and recreation for the Bishop; there were no tight schedules to keep, no pressing problems to face and no decisions to be made.

Once more, Bishop Kip suffered personal health problems. On May 18, 1871, he had an eye examination, and a rapidly forming cataract was discovered. Consequently, two days later Dr. William F. Smith, with two assisting physicians, performed cataract surgery on the Bishop's right eye in the Bishop's home. For the next month, the Bishop was confined to a dark room in his home, without any visitors. By mid-June he was taken about town briefly, and it was not until July 2, that he was able to resume light duties. Even then he was unable to use his eyes. It was announced that with "his familiarity with the service he anticipates no problem." Yet as late as early August, he complained of an inability to write much as a result of the state of his vision.[64] Obviously, the Bishop's mobility and activities, as well as his ability to conduct the affairs of the Diocese, were severely limited for an extended time.

Illness and travel occurred together later in the year, as the Kips attended the General Convention. While the General Convention of 1868 found various means for postponing a strenuous debate and confrontation on the issue of ritualism, the issue was joined at the Convention of 1871. Taking the transcontinental railroad east in August, the Kips stopped in Omaha where they spent a Sunday with Bishop Clarkson. Bishop Kip left California with a cold, the severity of which increased in Omaha, and by the time of their arrival in New York, there was serious concern for his well-being. He later reported himself "in ill health the whole of my visit at the East." Perhaps it was as a result of physical and mental fatigue brought on by continuing ill health and the pressure of events in San Francisco which led the Bishop to assume a quiet posture during a very noisy Convention. He sat on none of the committees which considered and decided on matters related to ritualism, and took no part in the often bitter and angry public debate. After strenuous debate on ritualism, and having failed to pass any of the several suggested canons on the subject, the Convention mildly resolved its condemnation of all ritual practices which manifested doctrines foreign to the Episcopal Church. The possible excesses of extreme Anglo-Catholic elements had been addressed, leaving untouched the excesses of extreme elements in the Low Church party. It being politically impossible to take action in this regard, the Bishops chose voluntarily to issue a private judgment concerning an issue raised by the Low Church element. Arguing that to speak of "regeneration" in the context of a baptismal service implied an immediate and observable reversal of the nature and quality of one's life, some clergy simply excised that word from the baptismal service. The changes they thought implied thereby were not observably present. In a celebrated case, the Bishop of Illinois suspended one priest from the exercise of the Ministry, for so altering the baptismal service. Bishop Kip concurred with other members of the House of Bishops in affirming that the word "regenerate" was not to be interpreted as declaring that there is a distinct moral change in the person baptised. Only in this statement do we have a portion of Kip's position on the serious issues which faced this General Convention. We know that he attended the Convention armed with a memorial from the Diocesan Convention urging the establishment of both northern and southern missionary dioceses in California--excised from the territory of the existing Diocese of California. The General Convention took no action on that request.[65] Yet even in this request pertinent to his own jurisdiction, we have no evidence of Kip's pursuit of the matter.

Bishop Kip was beset by continuing health problems, staggered by the vast size and needs of his Diocese, tired by the bitterness and schismatic quality of Church life in San Francisco, and still paid only fitfully. These factors seem to have enveloped and subdued him in a way which made it even less desirable that he be active in the General Convention debates.

Throughout 1872 Bishop Kip suffered again from ill health. The Kips remained in the East after the General Convention, but being unused to the severe winter weather, illness wracked him and he told one acquaintance, "I go from one attack of influenza to another." The attending physician ordered him to leave the Atlantic States. Rather than using the transcontinental train, they took the familiar route by ship to Panama, across the Isthmus, and up the West Coast. By the time they reached San Francisco, the Bishop's health was notably better.[66] Soon Bishop Kip resumed his normal Diocesan duties, enjoying a relatively quiescent period without difficulty or major changes.

While the Diocesan Convention had requested division of the Diocese, the action of the 1871 General Convention provided merely for the election of an Assistant Bishop in a diocese of sufficient size and where the age and infirmity of the Diocesan Bishop made such a course necessary. Given the financial condition of the Diocese of California, this option was no solution at all; anticipating the General Convention of 1874, an editorialist in The Spirit of Missions expressed the hope that Southern California would be erected as a separate missionary diocese. Writing from Southern California on a visitation tour, Kip expressed himself "utterly unable to attend to this Southern country." He then urged the creation of two missionary dioceses: one to the north, the other in the south. Considering possible candidates for the episcopal bench, he expressed the opinion that there was "no one in the diocese for the office." Though the 1874 Diocesan Convention memorialized the General Convention to create the two dioceses, with Kip giving his immediate legal assent, the Bishop expressed his belief that the northern jurisdiction would be created while the southern would not. His assessment was correct, as the General Convention created the Missionary District of Northern California, electing John E. D. Wingfield, as Missionary Bishop.[67] In this way, and with his own consent, Bishop Kip was deprived of jurisdiction over that area he knew so well, while remaining responsible for that southern area he knew but little, and believed unresponsive to the mission of the Church. It was as if the fruits of his labors were gone, leaving merely new labors and great need waiting his care and attention.

Anticipating the actions of General Convention, Bishop Kip came to feel he should leave California. There was no provision for the retirement of a bishop. Resignation was considered wholly inappropriate. The health and well being of both bishop and diocese notwithstanding, it was generally considered necessary for a bishop to live out his life in the diocese to which he had been elected. Under the circumstances, Bishop Kip's lament is indeed understandable. He wrote of "laboring here under difficulties which...no other Bishop in the Church has ever experienced, for more than twenty years." On another occasion he complained of "enduring often, what to me was a perfect martyrdom." In the same vein--though a decade later--he wrote of being "in exile." Alluding to the rigorous frontier conditions and the increasing problems of ill-health, Kip warned Bishop Whittingham: "I cannot carry on this contest much longer, for heart and strength fail." He then asked Bishop Whittingham to urge the House of Bishops to designate him as the continuing Episcopal Visitor to the Episcopal churches on the European Continent. That action would provide him a graceful exit from California, suitable work in his declining years, and proper oversight for those distant congregations.[68] The suggested action was not taken, and Kip continued to be bound to the Diocese of California.

During this period the over-riding issue to which Bishop Kip addressed himself was Church discipline. The issue was manifest within the Diocese in the matter of providing proper training and preparation for the Ministry (such as at the Missionary College of St. Augustine), in the related parochial difficulties of St. James and St. Alban's parishes in San Francisco, and in the matter of the division of the Diocese. It was also demonstrated in national Church affairs, especially in the conflicts over ritualism. He faced the issue internationally in regards to the relationship between the Episcopal Church and the Russian Orthodox Church. As a bishop of the Church, Kip was also called on to give fatherly advice on varied matters of discipline.

On several occasions Bishop Kip spoke of fund raising activities in the parish churches of the Diocese. Recalling Sunday School Christmas festivals which became dances lasting far into the night, he said "we cannot too fully reprobate this abuse of sacred things." In general he decried the use of "unhallowed means" to raise money for the Church. Later he expressed his views with regard to "Church fairs" to which the general public was invited. These he condemned as attempts to extort money which people would not ordinarily willingly give to the work of the Church, thereby denying the fundamental appeal of the Church. Kip reminded his people that often such events degenerated into a variety of illegal practices thereby denying the duty to obey lawful governmental, and to behave in moral and ethical ways. He specifically warned against an ethic "which flourishes in Churches and on Sundays, but evaporates in the atmosphere of a Fair." A few years later, he suggested that the Diocesan Convention exclude the delegation of any parish which raised funds by holding dances and sponsoring card games.[69]

As Bishop Kip had been concerned for the deleterious effect of the use of gambling (raffles and card games) upon the children of the Church, so he was even more concerned with the matter of bringing children to regular services. Though a strong supporter of the Sunday School movement, Kip was deeply troubled by the increasing practice of children leaving after Sunday School, never to attend the public worship of the Church. He reminded his listeners that in earlier years, when families attended worship together, "the young imbibed the spirit of the Church and grew up to love it." He sternly criticized people who would simply, and without hesitation, delegate to Sunday School teachers and other unknown persons, the total responsibility for the religious nurture of their children. He urged people to remember that while an important and valuable auxiliary, the Church school was no more than an aid to parental religious nurture. He reminded people that "the Home can alone truly train the young for Christian life."[70]

The catholicity and good order of the Church were also matters of great concern for Bishop Kip. On one occasion an episcopally ordained Swedish clergyman applied to him for permission to officiate in California. As there was no standing national Church policy with regard to the Orders of, and intercommunion with, the Lutheran Church of Sweden, and not wanting to dismiss the request out of hand, he wrote Bishop Henry J. Whitehouse, of Illinois. He expected Whitehouse to have greater information about the Swedish Church. When Whitehouse, citing the position of noted leaders in the Church of England, commended the validity of Swedish Orders, Kip was satisfied. Later he caused Bishop Whitehouse's letter to be reprinted in Pacific Churchman as an evidence of his openness, acceptance and Diocesan policy. When it was proposed that the Episcopal Church establish a non-territorial bishopric for the Sioux Indians, Bishop Kip was disturbed by the policy implications, and the specific person proposed for that bishopric. Yet when a short time later it was suggested that the bishopric be territorial and William H. Hare was elected to the post, he gave enthusiastic endorsement.[71] In both these matters, Kip showed his adherence to the tradition of episcopal territoriality, and the necessity of limiting the exercise of the Ministry to those ordained in keeping with the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession. In his mind, these were of the essence of the good order of the Church.

By heritage and personal preparation, William Ingraham Kip was equipped to be a man of arts and letters. He continued these pursuits throughout this period. He pursued literary associations, wrote a book, referred to his sense of history and generally used his wisely.

On some occasions he encouraged academic and cultural pursuits by his mere presence. On one occasion he delivered the invocation and benediction at a major gala San Francisco observance of "Literary and Musical Exercises."[72] His belief in the nature and value of the pursuit of arts and letters was perhaps best summarized in a statement at the third commencement of the College of California-- now the University of California: "In the Republic of Letters there are no aliens, and in the brotherhood of scholars all may claim kindred." His second affirmation in the credo on arts and letters was that, "Next indeed to the brotherhood of faith is that of letters." He reminded all who would pursue arts and letters that in their activities they embodied the struggles and rewards of all who had gone before, since culture is a cumulative body of knowledge and behavior. Thus, in the inevitable and progressive march of civilization, none had died in vain.[73] It is in the notion of progress that we see the link between the Bishop's concept of the role and nature of arts and letters in general, and his work in history in particular.

Early Nineteenth Century concepts of history helped mold the academic style of William Ingraham Kip. Nonetheless he attempted to be careful and precise in his work in a way which would do credit to the so-called "scientific historians" who began to rise in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century. He thought of history as the relatively distant past, with its writing dependent upon voluminous background information. As a result, when one scholar inquired as to the possibility of preparing a new history of early California, he could only extoll the virtues of an 1835 English imprint adding that "there is too no history." Yet he encouraged this researcher in the general pursuit of historical knowledge, as he encouraged other scholars. He urged one man to continue seeking information about the bishops of the American Church, in order that their biographies be made available to a wide reading public. Some years later he strongly encouraged the preparation of a history of the Diocese of Connecticut, commenting sadly that it was unfortunate that other dioceses had no such similar scholarly projects in the works. In this regard, he mentioned the proposed publication of his memoirs which were later to be published under the title of Early Days of My Episcopate. When corresponding with other scholars, Kip did all in his power to see that their works be based on primary source materials. Likely, it was this sense of the proper and necessary sources of historical data which caused him to prepare the memoirs of those early years.[74] In recognition of his historical sensibilities, and in view of his recent genealogical publications,[75] Bishop Kip was elected an Honorary Vice President of New England Historic Genealogical Society, in early 1875.[76]

During this span of years, Bishop Kip wrote and published several editions of another book: The Unnoticed Things of Scripture. This revealing and miscellaneous collection of brief articles was outside his normal range of writing, which was usually in the area of the history of the western Church. The items in the book are varied in nature and content. The unifying element is that all relate to the Bible. There are chapters devoted to the meanings of specific words,[77] phrases, or stories from Scripture, which are arranged in the same order as the books of the Bible. Drawing upon the Biblical scholarship of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries,[78] the book is nonetheless the work of a homilist, rather than that of a scholar.

In some ways, Bishop Kip appears inclined to an uncritical Biblical literalism. For example, several references, which are inconsistent in specifics, but are in general agreement, suggest that he accepted the notion of special creation in the year 4004 B.C. He accepted literally the account of the ages of Methuselah, Lamech and Noah as recounted in the Genesis account. He also accepted the tradition of Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.[79]

There is evidence of what might be termed a predisposition to the Higher Criticism. Kip affirms a documentary theory of the origins of the Pentateuch, suggesting that Moses was the redactor of earlier written elements. He matter-of-factly refers to linguistic differences and inconsistencies appearing even in English versions, noting that they are more obvious in the earliest Greek versions. Elsewhere he allows the possibility that particular books of the Old Testament may be "a religious fiction" written for the purpose of illustrating religious points. He believed the Gospels were written at widely differing times, and that each was written with a "view from a different point ... to suit the wants of the particular people for whom it is written."[80]

This, then, was another in a series of books written for the populace while drawing on recent scholarship. In this book we see a William Ingraham Kip in transition between the literalism of the early Eighteenth Century religious academy, and the interpretive critical style of the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries. Because there is no evidence of an intent to smooth the transition for the reading public, it is likely that the Bishop was not aware of this dimension of his book. One San Francisco reviewer seems to have identified many of these factors. He said Kip had "a lurking flavor of the professional education," lacking"evidence of either a profound thinker or learned theologian." Terming the style "easy and agreeable" and likening it to good dinner conversation, he noted readers are "agreeably entertained without fatigue, and carry away some bits of instruction."[81] Church journals were also favorable. The popular and readable style were usually mentioned. The book was commended for reading.[82]

In 1874 Bishop Kip was 63 years old, and had been Bishop of California for more than 20 years. The demands of his office had been great and unceasing. When he might reasonably expect comfort and relaxation, he faced new challenges and difficult situations. His pleas for financial relief, Diocesan support and release from the burdens of California, were all politely heard and largely ignored. By the time his Diocese was divided, he knew that he was a man trapped by his office. There was no reasonable expectation of future release. This must have been a grim realization.

CHAPTER 10

Declining Years

The pioneering work in the Episcopal Church in California was "to gather up and reduce to order" the existing ecclesiastical elements. On that base the Diocese was to be built. According to William Ingraham Kip's view, he had completed that work at least by 1874. The Diocese had been divided into two stable jurisdictions, and the founding Bishop was now tired and in need of more peaceful environs. With the Bishop's youthful vigor gone, and with the failure of the General Convention to establish regular supervision of the American chapels in Europe, he returned to California, to engage in a less active ministry.

The changes during the next six-year period were subtle but noteworthy. The number of visitations and episcopal services appears maintained, though close examination demonstrates greater activity in the San Francisco Bay Area with decreasing travel and less strenuous activity outside his home area. While aware of affairs throughout the Episcopal Church, Kip was less inclined to comment upon them, or to urge his own opinions and suggestions. Increasingly disease and illness limited his activities.

It was a time of great change throughout the nation. There was rapid industrialization. Railroads burgeoned. High levels of European immigration imparted a sense of near-innundation. There was legal and social conflict between black and white citizens. Public and private educational institutions began and grew. The nationwide Economic Panic of 1873 was a serious set-back. The rise of the *nouveaux riches* threatened the status of notable aristocratic families. In 1875 the closure of Nevada silver mines created an economic disaster in California. Chinese immigration was a source of special fear. Railroads controlled much of the terrain, economy and government in California. The citizenry sought to allay its fears and suspicions through the vehicle of a new State Constitution. In response to the fears of a moral collapse throughout California, several noted evangelists were invited, and conducted substantial crusades in the major cities of the State. In spite of these events and trends in the society at large, Bishop Kip remained so publicly aloof from these matters as to leave virtually no hint that they were taking place.

Within the Episcopal Church, the conflict over Churchmanship continued. It was pursued over the subject of ritualism, focusing its attention on behavior which might be conditioned by the legalisms of canon law or Prayer Book rubrics. The early decades of the Century were marked by the use of ecclesiastical trials as a means of enforcing uniform ritual practices and styles. During the latter part of the century the preferred means of establishing uniformity was through the control of admission to the House of Bishops. Required consents to the election of a particular man as bishop, from other bishops and Standing Committees around the nation, were conditioned by the churchmanship of the nominee. An increasing number of devout persons examined the Religious Life and formed Religious Orders. Again, Bishop Kip's diminished level of involvement leaves but little evidence of these movements and trends in his papers.

The hope for an Episcopal college and seminary virtually ended with the necessary displacement of James Lloyd Breck and the re-organization of St. Augustine's Missionary College. Such ideas had risen and fallen before, however, Breck's death in 1876 must have marked the finale of Kip's active and reasonable hopes for such endeavors.

Breck's burial was conducted by Bishop John H. D. Wingfield, of Northern California, who also preached the funeral sermon. Kip assisted with the services, making additional laudatory comments about the life and devotion of Dr. Breck. In a series of "personal recollections" Kip extolled Breck's personal traits, including "a new standard of energy and self-denial in the missionary enterprise." Mentioning Breck's "interest" in education and schools, and in missionary work, it was the practice of self-denial which Kip admired and commended. Implying that Breck's work at Nashotah and Faribault had been successful, and his efforts in Benecia praiseworthy, the Bishop clearly conveyed his judgment and disappointment regarding the venture in Benicia. Closing with mention of a "mighty contest going on through the universe of God -- a contest between the spirits of good and evil, who, unseen by mortal eye, wrestle ceaselessly for the mastery," Kip affirmed that by his death Breck was "freed indeed from his wearying toil in this lower world" and now suitably prepared and engaged in furthering God's purpose elsewhere.[1] Thus, the Bishop was able to bid his long-time friend farewell with an even-handed judgment, recognizing both successes and shortcomings.

Southern California was still part of the Diocese and therefore in need of Kip's Episcopal Visitation and pastoral oversight. By late 1876, it was possible for the Bishop to visit Southern California by train. Anticipating their first train trip to the area, Maria wrote: "I hear the trip on the railroad to Los Angeles is splendid, look forward with such pleasure to the journey, such a relief from the dreadful sea voyage." In retrospect, and with slightly less passion, the Bishop said the trip "contrasts most pleasantly with the three days' sail on the coast steamer which I have been obliged to take for the last twenty years." The Bishop was finally forced to make this visitation alone, because Maria was ill and confined to her bed with what the Bishop variously reported as "neuralgia in her head" and "prostration of the nervous system."[2] The Bishop disliked making visitations in Southern California because of the rude quality of the population, the heat, the parched quality of the terrain, and the extreme difficulties with which the Church was faced in the area. In spite of the easing of some travel difficulties, it must have been an unpleasant journey with the added burdens and concerns for Maria's well-being.

In May, 1877 Bishop Kip was appointed a member of the Board of Visitors of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. The Board was responsible for witnessing the annual final examinations, judging student discipline, and formulation of general recommendations regarding the nature and condition of the Academy and its program.[3] Though given less than a month's warning before the first meeting of the Board at Annapolis, the Bishop happily arranged affairs so that he could participate. After completing his duties at the Academy, and before the opening of the General Convention, he would have the time for "once more visiting the familiar scenes of my former days, and the fast decreasing circle of those to whom I was bound by kindred and affection."[4]

The transcontinental train trip was long and tedious. The boredom of the latter part of the journey was relieved by warm and friendly associations between the Kips and Chancellor and Mrs. William Hammond, of the University of Iowa. Hammond was also a member of the Board of Visitors. The journey itself was delayed more than 24 hours by a tunnel cave-in in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. A second delay was occasioned when a frieght train blocked the track. In the Mid-West there were threats from flood waters. Later floods actually prevented travel. The condition of the track itself was a source of great concern. The Bishop later said: "This is a most wretched railroad. The cars seem fairly to dance on it, to the great terror of many of the passengers."[5] While not as arduous as some of the stage and horseback trips during his early episcopate, this was nonetheless a difficult and dangerous journey which emphasized the physical, emotional and cultural distance between the Bishop of California and his aristocratic Eastern roots.

Following opening formalities the Board organized and began its work. As a matter of courtesy, Kip was called on to preside until the Board was organized and a President elected. He was then appointed chairman of a committee on the library and another on "English Studies an Modern Languages." Surveying the physical facilities, the Bishop was surprised to discover that buildings, grounds and staff were larger than those at West Point. Though without specific charge to do so, it was natural for Bishop Kip to assess the work of the chaplain, whom he found was "entirely sustained in every effort for the spiritual welfare of his charge." The committee on English and modern languages expressed pleasure with the quality of English and French studies; it added that given the limited study time available midshipmen should make a choice to focus on either Spanish or French. In reviewing the report, the Board altered the recommendation to encourage greater concentration on one language without omitting the other. The committee on the library commended the nature and quality of the collection, urged "a liberal appropriation " to provide for the library's "gradual increase." With regard to physical facilities the committee suggested:

> The rooms now appropriated for the purpose seem quite insufficient for the proper accommodation

> of the library, and at no distant time, other arrangements will have to be made.

The committee also encouraged the expansion of the collection of portraits of Naval heroes, augmented by Naval artifacts and memorabilia. The Board completed its work on June 20, 1877.[6]

As a part of their summer travels, the Kips returned for a visit to St. Paul's parish, Albany, New York. There, the Bishop was pleased to preach a sermon on the occasion of the semi-centennial of the parish; it was also the twenty-fourth anniversary of his consecration to the episcopacy.

In his sermon during that brief and nostalgic visit, he took the opportunity to raise two significant questions. First, he wondered if his listeners had proclaimed the Gospel to all persons. Second, he inquired after the spirit of self-denial in the Church. These he related to the growth of St. Paul's parish. In consideration of the history of the Parish he was plunged into a musing which demonstrated his personal sense of being old. The remembrance of long-dead friends, and the sight of those he baptised in youth "themselves careworn parents," conveyed the "truth that time is fleeing and there is but a step between us and death!"[7]

At the formal observance, Bishop Kip was joined by all living former rectors of the Parish. The occasion also gave opportunities to renew acquaintance with men who had been trained for the ministry from that Parish.[8]

The General Convention of 1877 was rather lackluster--especially by comparison with its immediate predecessor which was beset by the volatile debate on the canon on ritualism. Later, in his address to the Diocesan Convention, Kip summarized the nature and work of the General Convention in one brief paragraph, designed to demonstrate that "old party lines seemed obliterated" and as a result there was a "perfect unity of feeling."[9] Kip seems to have played a minor role at the Convention. As Chairman of the committee on the General Theological Seminary of the House of Bishops, he presented a report which was highly critical of alumni attempts to restructure the governance of the Seminary so as virtually to convey control to the alumni. While the Convention rejected one attempt to initiate the process of Prayer Book revision, the House of Bishops approved Kip's cautious resolution urging that the committee on the Prayer Book "consider the expediency of providing a prayer for preservation in journeys on land."[10] Certainly, long experience equipped Bishop Kip to speak knowledgeably of the perils of land travel.

It was the desire of the old Hobartian High Churchman to guide their actions by those of the "Primitive Church." Kip, like other old High Churchmen, used "Primitive Church" as a capitalized technical term referring to the Apostolic and immediate post-Apostolic experiences of the Church. This is a phrase he used throughout The Church of the Apostles, which was newly-published at this time. He summarized the book as "a picture of the Primitive Ch. ..."[11]

As a prerequisite to action, it was necessary to identify the nature and style of the early Church. The Church of the Apostles was an attempt to explain the faith and practices of the early Church in four headings: creeds, fellowship, Eucharist, and liturgies. Bishop Kip's primary concern for the element of "the Primitive" separates him from the ritual high Churchman of the late Nineteenth Century.

In the Bishop's thinking, this new book was a continuation--a supplement--of his earlier work, The Double Witness of the Church.[12] While it is true the two works complement each other, by dealing with similar issues in differing ways and depth, it is also obvious that they are addressed to differing situations and controversies. Double Witness was addressed to the sectarian revivalism rampant in New York during the early part of the Century. It contained a series of brief items on wide ranging ecclesiastical topics, with a catechetical style. The four sections of The Church of the Apostles address the issues of unity of faith and liturgical practices, in a pleasant, but polemic, fashion. Having described the proceedings of the Nicene Council, and the production of its Creed, Kip decried the heresy controversies over picayune points which followed that Council. Writing on "fellowship" he noted the value of unity both for the Church as institution, and for individual members. Departing from the practice of his time, the Bishop implicitly urged frequent reception of the Holy Communion. Spending several pages to show that in the ancient

Church the Communion was received at least weekly, and often daily, he later used Biblical language to urge that the Church "continue steadfastly in the breaking of bread." While discussing Christian liturgy he praised Anglicanism for retaining the spirit of early Church services.

In a gentle way, this work was addressed to the Churchmanship controversies of the day. It urged unity, notwithstanding the doctrinal and ritual differences and tensions within the Episcopal Church. It encouraged frequent reception of the Holy Communion--a practice espoused by the ritualists--while supporting the notion that ritual practices involving great pomp and intricacy should diminish in favor of the simplicity of the Apostolic Age. Finally, it lauded Anglicanism by contrast with other Catholic Churches (Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodoxy) and Protestanism. All this was done in the style of a scholar, while designed to provide "the ground necessary for ordinary readers to know". Furthermore, it was done without the aggressiveness of harsh partisanship; once again we see Bishop Kip trying to function as the gentle mediator.

Reviewers treated the book with great kindness. A typical review in a Church publication said simply, "We cannot have too many publications of this kind...." It added that the book met the needs of those too busy--or without resources--to use original sources. Reviews of this kind--kindness without substance--suggest that the Bishop was too subtle in his presentation, and his points were not understood by the religious reviewers. The reviewer of a San Francisco secular paper was notably more understanding of the man, if not of the content of the book. He noted that "Bishop Kip has little fondness for controversy or exegetical learning, but depends mainly for his influence upon presenting to people of average intelligence ... ideas within the range of easy comprehension...."[13]

Some years before the Bishop had attempted to establish Grace Church in Cathedral status. Under that plan, and in keeping with English tradition, the Bishop would have been in charge of the parish *ex officio*, with a subordinate "Dean" being responsible for day-to-day operation of the parish. Though Bishop Kip urged adoption of the system, it was never officially enacted, and Grace Parish was designated Grace Cathedral only during Kip's tenure as Rector. Since the Bishop was no longer rector of any parish, and had no *ex officio* relationship to a particular parish, there was no place he could regularly and routinely exercise his liturgical ministry.

Desiring a place where he might regularly function, and which might be offered for the use of visiting ecclesiastical dignitaries, the Bishop urged that the 1876 Convention consider the problems involved. The urging was so gentle, and without specific recommendations or request, the Convention initiated no study and took no action. In answer to a general inquiry from Bishop Quintard, of Tennessee, regarding Episcopal Visitations, Bishop Kip cited his principles as being that the bishop has "a right to take any Ch. for an Episcopal act, i.e., Ordination or Confirmation." In an apparently more general comment, Kip said that regarding the use of a parish church he would speak to the clergy and "I always had all the arrangements yielded which I wished."[14] The fact remained that there was no church within which the Bishop could and would regularly function.

The following year a Convention committee was established to study the feasibility of creating a cathedral. In 1879 that committee submitted a one-sentence report: "...on consultation with the Bishop, and in furtherance of his wishes, it is inexpedient to take further action in the matter for the present." The reason for Bishop Kip's apparent change of mind is that on September 22, 1878, he accepted the Rectorship of the Church of the Advent in San Francisco. He reported that he was "obliged to assume this charge, as the only way of saving the Church, which had become so weakened that the Vestry passed a vote to close it." He added that this would be unpaid work on his part in order to allow the parish to pay off its heavy indebtedness. He later said that closure "would have been virtually to abandon it to its creditors." Apparently the parish suffered with the rest of the City of San Francisco in the serious economic consequences of the collapse of the City's stock market. So serious were the effects that it is reported that about 30,000 men in San Francisco were unemployed. Because the resultant rioting and threat to wealthy families of the City was so great, a citizens' committee was established to restore order. The War Department provided the necessary arms, and

Naval vessels were ordered to stand by in the Bay to provide necessary assistance to the civilian committee. Economic difficulties beset the City for some time, so Bishop Kip held the Rectorship through 1882.[15]

The relationship was valuable for both the parish and the Bishop. It gave Kip a place for visiting church dignitaries to officiate and preach.[16] Statistics demonstrate that during Kip's Rectorship the parish experienced great stability. The number of families and communicants remained about the same, as did the size of the Sunday School, public communion services, and parish income. The only notable change was a substantial decline in the number of services of morning and evening prayer.[17]

When the closure of a church seems necessary due to declining finances, even stability is an achievement.

In October, 1878, Bishop Kip observed the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration to the Episcopate. On the evening of October 27, he participated in an Evening Prayer Service at Trinity Church, accompanied by more than one-third of the clergy of the Diocese, and a large number of the laity. By request of the clergy, the Bishop delivered an address on the early history of the Diocese, immediately following the service. Noting the near chaos on the California scene, into which he was plunged, the Bishop succintly summarized his recollection and understanding of the "assignment" given him by the House of Bishops when he was elected Missionary Bishop of California: "...to gather up and reduce to order these disjointed fragments, and breathe a spirit of harmony into these conflicting elements of life which here seemed to be in almost hopeless confusion." He referred "in touching terms" to the work of Flavel Mines and Jean Ver Mehr. Further, he noted the lack of discord in the Diocese at the time of this anniversary.[18] The latter note is a highly relative statement, having reference to the serious conflict over ritualism and churchmanship as experienced in some of the Eastern Dioceses. These kind comments do not negate serious attempts to impede his work, and elect another man to the permanent bishopric.

The major observances of the anniversary were withheld to the following day, October 28. At a morning communion service in the Church of the Advent, the clergy of the Diocese presented the Bishop a crozier carved from California oak. They then honored him with a gala luncheon at the Palace Hotel. The congratulations and well-wishing ended with a four-hour evening reception at the Kip home; hundreds of people attended and passed through the home.[19]

It was Bishop Kip's opinion that major resources of the Church ought not be wasted on great efforts to evangelize the non-white segments of the American population. His early experiences with the missionary to San Francisco's Chinese left him with that belief. The lack of substantial Black interest in the ministry of the Episcopal Church, and widespread white resistence to the full inclusion of the Blacks in the councils of the Church, led him to the same opinion regarding Black America. However, this does not mean that he opposed such missionary ventures. In 1879 he ordained Walter Ching Young, whose Chinese name was Ah Ching, to the diaconate.[20] Young was a man of experience and education, having spent five years at Gambier College, in Ohio, and having been recommended for a national Church missionary stipend to support his San Francisco lay ministry among the Chinese. Even though this recommendation was endorsed by Bishop Kip, the money was denied on the grounds of lack of funding. He is also reported to have"successfully passed through a course of theological study." As pastor pastorum, Bishop Kip officiated at the 1881 wedding of Walter Young and Fu Ah Ting. The 18-year old bride had been a long-time ward of the Berlin Foundling Mission, in Hong Kong. Held at Trinity Church, to which Young was attached, the ceremony attracted a large number of citizens of San Francisco. So intense were the anti-Chinese feelings of the day, that even in the Church, segregation was practiced, with Caucasian witnesses being shown to the left side of the Church and Chinese spectators seated on the right.[21] Though Young continued active in the ministry and the Diocese throughout Kip's life, he seems to have had no role in the affairs of the Church outside the limits of his mission to the Chinese of San Francisco. As was the case with Peter W. Cassey, Young's work always seems to have been considered a missionary enterprise subordinate to the Rector of Trinity Church. Neither strongly supported nor opposed by the Bishop, Young found his work accepted, but not prospering.[22]

Many Californians believed that the State's inability to solve the various social and political ills were a direct result of a faulty State Constitution. As a result, a convention was called to prepare a new Constitution. When the results were known and the public vote to be taken, Bishop Kip found himself in a quandry. Certain clauses were of an anti-Chinese quality. With these sentiments, the Bishop agreed. We know, for example, that during this time, the Bishop joined other major religious leaders in San Francisco in petitioning the President of the United States to sign a piece of anti-Chinese legislation. When Horatio Seymour, a leading New York political figure whom Kip had known since his Albany Rectorship, wrote an article on American jurisprudence, Bishop Kip wrote him an appreciative note. Included in the article was Seymour's affirmation of the essential importance of the diversity of peoples to the cosmopolitan quality and liberalism of New York, which he believed functioned to the general benefit of all America. Kip termed this belief one "to which I could not heartily subscribe." Included in the proposed Constitution were provisions for tax equalization, railroad regulation, and the prohibition of combinations which worked to restrain trade. Men of wealth and position opposed these provisions and joined in labeling them "socialist" in nature. Kip wrote Seymour that the vote on the new Constitution:

> ...will decide the question whether or not we are to be given over to the rule of Communism and German Socialism. It is a contest between the respectability of our community and radical infidelity. Thinking men look with great fear to the result.

So in the Bishop's mind there were provisions to exclude Chinese, with which he agreed, while also embodying ideas he associated with the radical segments of German immigrants. Ultimately, the Bishop decided to vote for the first time in many years, casting his ballot against the proposed Constitution. In spite of the upper class opposition, the Constitution was approved and became effective.[23]

As a bishop gained seniority in the House of Bishops, he was called on more frequently for preaching and presiding at Church gatherings. In keeping with this practice, Bishop Kip was invited to deliver the sermon at the opening service of the General Convention of 1880. He began by pointing to the purity of faith in the early Church, an drew a contrast with the current situation marked by a popularity based on a lukewarm quality which led to spiritual paralysis. Three aspects made for popularity, according to Kip. First was the absence of spiritual earnestness due to laxity in training and guidance from the Church leading to superficial adherence to the Faith. Second, was an absence of deep repentance. Third was the absence of self-denial. This was a theme he had been developing throughout recent years -- at the Breck funeral and the Albany semi-centennial, for example. Then he juxtaposed his realization that on the one hand American

Christians seemed no more sacrificial than others in the society, while on the other hand, there were the self-giving examples of foreign missionaries. The closing comment, intended to highlight the differences between "the popular religion of the day" and the faith of the ancient Church, has a general quality which might be applied to the whole of Bishop Kip's California ministry. He said, "life is no season for pleasant pastime, but a conflict and a warfare."[24]

His role as opening preacher notwithstanding, Bishop Kip seems to have remained in the background during the Convention. Once more, Kip was appointed to the committee on the General Theological Seminary. He made the formal presentation of a memorial from the Bishop of Honolulu, requesting aid in the building of a cathedral. Otherwise, we have no indication of Kip's personal involvement in the business of the Convention. During the Convention, the Bishops sat "in Council" for the purpose of dealing with doctrinal matters rather than legislative, disciplinary and administrative matters. The resulting statement, which Kip also signed, was a direct Episcopal reponse to the decrees of the First Vatican Council. It labeled the decrees of the Council of Trent, the dogma of Immaculate Conception, and the Infallibility of the Pope, "dogmas having no warrant in Holy Scripture or the ancient creeds, which dogmas are so radically false as to corrupt and defile the faith." It went on to complain that the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope "has deprived of its original independence the Episcopal Order."[25]

The most notable action of the General Convention of 1880 was the establishment of a commission charged with proposing revisions to some portions of the Book of Common Prayer. Bishop Kip seems not to have been involved in this movement. Neither did he see it worthy of mention in his report to the succeeding Diocesan Convention. Indeed, he returned in that report to the long-standing theme of the "absence of party spirit."[26]

In late 1881, Bishop Kip joined a movement which had been growing in strength and momentum throughout the middle of the Nineteenth Century: the establishment of Religious Communities. In 1852, while Kip was still Rector of St. Paul's, Albany, New York, the Reverend William A. Muhlenberg, of New York City, organized a non-communal religious sisterhood for relief work in his parish. This was the first such venture toward the Religious Life in the Episcopal Church, which continued untainted by departures from the communion of the Church in favor of that of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1865 the Community of St. Mary was organized in New York, the first true Religious Order in Anglicanism since the Reformation. In 1873 Bishop Henry C. Potter, of New York, published a series of brief sketches of the structure and work of Episcopal sisterhoods and organizations of deaconesses. On November 1, 1881 Bishop Kip joined the movement by conducting a special service at the Church of the Advent, of which he was still the unpaid Rector, for the purpose of receiving the vows of "Sister Alice" into the Sisterhood of the

Good Shepherd. So conscious was Kip of the movement throughout the Church that he reported the service represented "the first inauguration of this system on the Pacific Coast." The existence of a second sister is, in some sources, mentioned without detail or proof. They took charge of the Church Home for Old Ladies, continuing there for 22 years. The Order did not grow and prosper sufficiently, and we have no additional evidence of Kip's attitude or involvement with respect to the Order.[27]

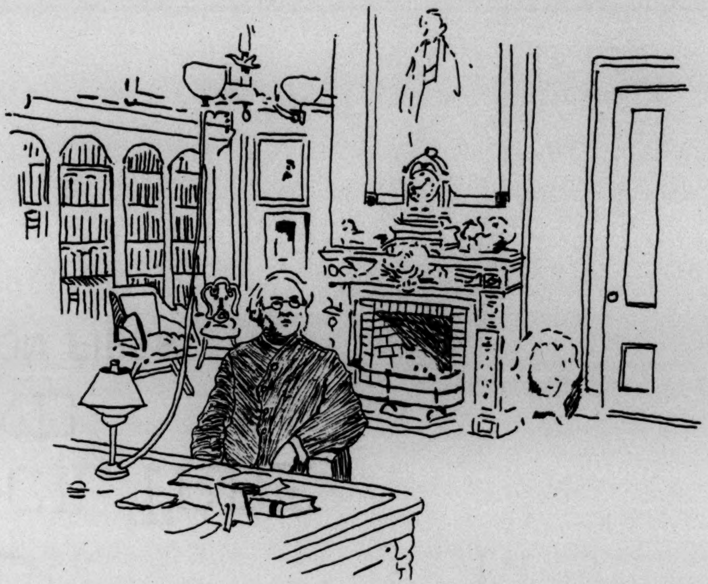
Throughout his life, William Ingraham Kip was devoted to arts and letters. He maintained a remarkably large private art collection. That collection included portraits of the first and second Viscount Irwin, whose patronym was Ingram, and from whom the Bishop was descended on his father's side, a portrait of his grandfather Duncan Ingraham, Stephen Greenleaf, another ancestor, a portrait of his brother Leonard, and a portrait of Isaac Lawrence, Maria's father, plus two portraits by John Singleton Copley. During the bulk of his adult life, the collection also included Vanderlyn's *Marius Amidst the Ruins of Carthage*, William Hart's *Ruins of Roskin Castle*, and Le Brun's *Dutchess de la Valliere*. He also owned statuary, including Randolph Regeas' *Statute of Isaac*, and a bust of himself executed in Rome in 1865.[28]

It is understandable that when the San Francisco Art Association was begun in the early 1870's, the Bishop was named one of nine honorary members. Perhaps the honorary status was intended as an inducement to encourage the Bishop to permit loans for display purposes; it appears that, with the exception of the massive painting of Marius, Kip never loaned his paintings for public display.[29]

The Bishop maintained one of the largest private library collections in San Francisco, numbering between five and six thousand volumes. The collection included between 250 and 400 autographed presentation copies received from authors in Europe, the United States, and Hawaii.[30] Frequent brief items in letters written during the whole of William Ingraham Kip's adult life demonstrate that he had a rather large autograph collection--mostly from retained correspondence between various members of his family and the notable persons themselves.

Even though he supported arts and letters, the Bishop was generally disinclined to encourage theatrical ventures, and was quite specific regarding the popular revival of miracle plays during the late 1870's. He termed such miracle plays not only "absurd in their statements but also shocking in their impiety." Particularly shocking was the concept "of the Redeemer of the world personified by a playactor!"[31] Kip was not an uncritical supporter of all the arts.

In this latter portion of the 1870's Kip continued to live and think as he had been raised--an aristocratic and cultured gentleman from an old established Eastern family. He remained largely aloof from the social debates and movements which abounded during the period. Furthermore, he became increasingly disinclined to initiate policies and programs. While providing for the stability and continuity of the Church in his Diocese, he made no major attempt to assist the Church in responding and ministering to new social, political and economic situations.



WILLIAM INGRAHAM KIP

In his study during the 1880's.
Portrait of Duncan Ingraham in background.
(After an illustration in San Francisco EXAMINER, April 7, 1893.)

CHAPTER 11

The Last Days

During the last dozen years of his life, William Ingraham Kip suffered failing health, and lost the ability to initiate policies and actions. As his days lengthened, he increasingly became a victim of the operation of ecclesiastical politics. These factors forced him into the position of being a respected but inactive and reclusive man.

To the degree possible, the Bishop's routine annual visitation schedule was maintained. Beginning in 1883, he frequently commented on the fatiguing and deleterious effects of the Southern California heat. He reported that in June, 1883, the effects of the heat were so serious "that I finally fainted and was confined to my room for the most of the week." About his August Visitations, the Bishop said it was "a most fatiguing journey, the heat and dust both being excessive." As a result of the heat, Maria was confined to bed and their return to San Francisco was accordingly delayed. The next year the Bishop postponed the Diocesan Convention one week to permit the extension of his early summer Visitation to Southern California. He noted that without such an extension of his schedule a second southern trip would be necessary. The second trip would necessarily be "in the heat of summer, the exposure to which last season was followed by an attack of illness."[1] Clearly, weather and the difficulties of travel were taking their toll on the now-aged bishop.

Travel difficulties also continued to attend the Bishop's Visitations, even though railroads often replaced stage lines. As there had been previous stoppages and blockages _en route_ to earlier General Conventions in the East, similar difficulties attended southern journeys. On an 1884 trip a landslide closed one tunnel and required passengers to sit on the halted train for an additional twelve hours, after which they walked a pathway around the mountain and boarded a new train to continue the journey. More than a year later, Kip undertook his first Visitation to the coastal mountains near Jolon. In addition to train travel to the vicinity, he was taken on a wagon ride through dry river beds, among heavy boulders, around mountain roads, and up and down steep inclines "within a few inches of a precipice." By journey's end he had travelled nearly 320 miles by train and 240 in wagons.[2] These were difficult travels for a man in his mid-seventies.

The vision problem--apparently cataracts--with which he had been afflicted for many years, continued to cloud his eyesight. On October 12, 1882, he once more endured eye surgery. The surgery was conducted in the Kip home with the four attending physicians declaring the operation a success. Maria sat with him day and night for many days. It was seven weeks before Kip resumed a limited schedule. It was later reported that the operation "delayed blindness." Nonetheless, William Ingraham Kip, who enjoyed art, loved books, corresponded widely, and saw and described diverse peoples and places, was ultimately reduced to blindness later described in these sad words: "Since 1888 he has groped through the rooms of his beautiful home, remembering the brightness of the past and waiting for the future light."[3]

In addition to the problems of heat, travel, and vision, the Bishop was beset by more specific debilitating illnesses. In March 1887, a diagnosis of "nervous prostration" forced him to cancel Visitations and appointments. Less than a month later, he suffered an attack of vertigo, and there was serious fear for his life. This was reported to be an effect of serious kidney trouble. Again, future appointments were cancelled. In May, the Diocesan Convention resolved that the Bishop's health problems were occasioned by overwork and urged him to take a leave of absence of no less than three months. The next month Church members from throughout the nation were informed that Bishop Kip was suffering infirm health and that on medical orders, he had asked the Right Reverend John H. D. Wingfield, Bishop of Northern California, to perform Episcopal Services throughout the Diocese of California. Kip later reported this arrangement to the Diocesan Convention saying that in his absence he had been "always aided by the Bishop of Northern California." As late as early December continuing illness was reported.[4] Kip's illnesses were now lengthy and serious. His infirmities could no longer be ignored or minimized.

During succeeding years, Bishop Kip also was limited by health factors. He experienced limiting illnesses during February, May and June of 1888. When elected President of the Diocesan Corporation, he immediately resigned "for reasons personal to himself." Only when absent from the Diocese had the Bishop failed to attend a Diocesan Convention. However, in 1889, his infirmities made it impossible for him to preside, so he absented himself from the convention. That convention expressed pleasure with the Bishop's intention to take a period of rest from the labors of office. His health never again allowed William Ingraham Kip to preside at the Convention of his Diocese.[5] As the 1880's advanced, Kip's increasing limitations had been demonstrated--even outside the diocese.

Having served once as a Visitor to the Naval Academy, Kip was appointed as a member of the 1883 Board of Visitors to the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. Because the meeting of that Board would conflict with the schedule of his annual Visitation to Southern California, necessitating a southern trip during a less advantageous time of the year, he felt compelled to decline the appointment.[6] Once more, we have evidence of the effects of advancing age.

Another effect was a less forceful stance in trying to solve another troubled parish situation. During the latter part of 1882, and the early part of 1883, intense partisanship developed in the congregation of St. Mark's Parish, Berkeley. Eventually, it became Bishop Kip's responsibility to attempt to solve the trouble. When the missionary stipend for the support of the Parish was withdrawn, the Reverend E. L. Greene, its minister, took steps to organize the congregation as an independent parish. At a congregational meeting on May 29, 1882, a five member vestry was elected; the leading member of that vestry was James Palache. Later the same day, the vestry met and elected Greene as rector of the newly formed parish. A meeting of the vestry was held in late July at which time Greene announced "certain irregularities" with regard to both the congregational meeting and the actions of the vestry by which he had been elected rector, "vitiating and making void the action of the congregation." Among the "irregularities" were the following: (1) Bishop Kip had not approved the organization of a parish, (2) the vestry met and acted without sufficient advanced notice to all members of the vestry and congregation, and (3) notice of Greene's election had not been properly forwarded to the Bishop for his ecclesiastical approval. By August 3, the now-not-legal vestry, under the leadership of James Palache, had relinquished control of the church and its funds, transferring the latter to a person outside the improperly elected vestry. Recounting Greene's estimate of the non-legal situation of himself and the vestry, the new treasurer recorded that "the vestrymen so elected decided to acquiesce in said view." More than a year later, on July 23, 1883, Greene delivered the necessary legal testimonials to the Bishop and the Chancellor, demonstrating that a proper congregational meeting had proceeded to form the Parish of

St. Mark's Church. The same day, the Bishop declared the parish lawfully organized, and the Palache-headed vestry lawfully elected and duly entitled to control the temporalities of the parish. Referring to Greene's year-long failure to remedy the legal situation, the vestry declared his behavior, "a virtual declination of the call" to the rectorship, rescinding the call, and declaring the rectorship vacant. When Bishop Kip was notified of this action, he appointed David McClure as priest-in-charge.[7] Thus, by action of the vestry, and concurrence of the Bishop, the relationship between Greene and the parish was ended.

The situation worsened when Greene refused to be removed. His removal notwithstanding, Greene conducted a service in the Church on Sunday, July 29, 1883, during which he announced that the following evening the election of vestrymen would take place in the Church. That evening, Greene and his supporters discovered that the opposing faction within the congregation had locked the Church. So, the Greene group met in a nearby home with eight or ten persons present. B. F. Dahl and others were elected vestrymen.[8] The result was that the parish now had two vestries: the Palache-headed vestry, eventually recognized by Bishop Kip, and the new Dahl-headed vestry. The Standing Committee of the Diocese, acting as Council of Advice, met with the Bishop on August 2, 1883 to settle upon appropriate steps to be taken in this difficult situation. The Committee advised Kip to recognize the Palache-headed vestry, elected in 1882, and to "veto and render null and void any election that has been made to the rectorship." Six days later the Palache-headed vestry unanimously voted to call Giles A. Easton as rector of the Parish. This election was a clear signal of submission to the Bishop since Easton had been the Assistant Minister at Grace Church, San Francisco, during several years of the Bishop's tenure as Rector. Soon the Dahl-headed vestry had secured a writ mandamus from a San Francisco Superior Court judge directing the Palache-headed group to surrender their offices and control of the Church buildings. Palache's group immediately asked the California State Supreme Court to stay the judgment of the Superior Court. The Supreme Court denied the request for a stay on the basis that the case was within the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and since such an appeal would effect an immediate stay of judgment, a separate stay was unnecessary. In a pre-arranged set of correspondence, the Palache-headed vestry pledged loyalty to the Bishop, and asked an explicit statement as to the status of Greene. Bishop Kip's same-day response was that all elections of Greene to the rectorship were "null and void," that he had specifically vetoed Greene's election to the rectorship, and had never encouraged Greene's assertion of the rights of rector. He added that Greene had "disregarded my personal appeals ... in the interest of the Church, whose peace and harmony he has disturbed." So public was this parish conflict that a public newspaper reported a lengthy and intense argument about the matter on the ferry from San Francisco to the East Bay, continuing on the train to Berkeley, becoming so intense that a physical fight erupted, with the conductor stopping the train and threatening the eviction of all involved if additional trouble continued.

In April, 1884, the Palache-headed vestry called for, and conducted, yet another vestry election in St. Mark's Parish; with a change of one member, the group was re-elected. Eventually the California State Supreme Court heard the case on its merits. It basically confirmed Bishop Kip's long-standing opinions. It declared that the July 29, 1883 worship service conducted by Greene contravened the canons of the Diocese, thereby failing to meet requirements for a proper service within which canonical notification of election might take place. It determined further that the notice given was itself inadequate. The result, said the Court, was that the election of the Dahl-headed vestry was invalid.[9] It had taken more than three years to confirm Kip's position.

Health problems also afflicted Maria Kip, giving the Bishop cause for concern. In early 1885, she fell on the sidewalk in front of the Palace Hotel, sustaining a bad compound fracture just above one ankle. It was necessary to set the fracture twice, and concern for infection and fever continued for nearly three weeks. Ten months after the accident she was still barely hobbling about the house and occasionally despairing of the long term effects of the accident. Even then she was able only to express the hope that it would be possible for her to go to Church on Christmas Day. Even a year after the accident she was able only to hobble about the house. Later the Bishop expressed regret at being unable to attend the General Convention of 1886 by virtue of Maria's inability to endure the journey.[10]

In the Kips we have an almost archetypical example of a loving couple experiencing the ravages of time together. His health suffered as a result of travels and tension associated with his office as Bishop. As the Bishop's almost constant companion, Maria also endured the hardships of often-primitive travels, and one notable and debilitating accident. Meanwhile, each was concerned for the welfare of the other, trying at all times to ease the difficulties and pains while being a constant loving companion.

The Golden Wedding anniversary of William Ingraham Kip and Maria Kip was a gala public occasion. Close family friends, including Sister Alice of the Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd, provided the lavish floral decorations which filled some six rooms on the lower floor of the Kip home. There were festoons of evergreens throughout, with several sheaves of wheat on the floor. Special to the occasion was a free-standing arch of marigolds, from which hung a bell made of fragrant white flowers, all of which was surmounted by a star of violets. The Bishop and Maria received their guests in the library, with Maria forced to sit throughout the festivities because of the lingering effects of her broken ankle. In behalf of the assembed guests, C. V. S. Gibbs made a few laudatory comments regarding the Bishop and Mrs. Kip.

He praised the exemplary nature of their marital fidelity. Speaking of their work for the Church in California, he noted that the Bishop had come to California for "unselfish" reasons and that during their time in California both had shown great faithfulness to the work of the Church. He concluded by calling Maria "the faithful, devoted wife and colaborer of our Bishop." Gibbs then presented the Kips with a purse of money and certificate of bank deposit, totalling more than $5,000 -- the combined gifts of friends throughout the State. It was known that other gifts had been received, though they were not on display. It took Bishop Kip time to gain control of his emotions, and he was able to make but brief response to these demonstrations of widespread affection. When the tiring evening concluded, more than 600 persons had attended the festivities.[11]

As had been true throughout his episcopate, there were important and politically active persons in the Diocese who had less than enthusastic affection for the Bishop. The Diocesan Treasurer published a stern defense of the Diocese in its financial dealings with William Ingraham Kip. It was his explicit intent "to contradict the reports in circulation, that this Diocese is greatly in arrears to their Bishop for his salary." He then presented an accounting of salary monies paid the Bishop from 1868 through 1889. With those figures, he demonstrated that Bishop Kip had been overpaid $1,876.17. In effect, this printed broadside was an attack on Bishop Kip. Further, it shows the degree to which the normal courtesies associated with a Diocesan Bishop were ignored, and the degree to which Bishop Kip was unable to control or condition the affairs of the Diocese.

The sad fact is that though filled with inaccuracies, this report was never corrected. Graves reported as calendar year expenditures salary amounts paid on a fiscal year basis (May to May). This raises certain difficulties in making comparisons. By beginning the accounting with 1868 and assuming that all salary amounts due the Bishop had been previously paid, Graves was able to ignore a salary arrearage of $12,518.37. At the Convention of 1873, a special committee on the indebtedness of the Diocese affirmed an indebtedness to the Bishop of $21,882.18 -- which went unmentioned in the Graves' accounting, and which was necessarily based on certain knowledge of the arrearage amassed from 1859 through 1868. The Treasurer's accounting includes one salary figure paid which was nearly $300 above the actual Diocesan payment to Kip -- that for the fiscal year 1875-76. (Even the original journal figure for the total salary paid in that year was inaccurate; Graves failed to check the quarterly salary figures, correct the mathematics, and accurately report the change.) For those years when the Convention voted the Bishop a separate expenditure to cover travel expenses, Graves added the two amounts together and reported the total as salary. Finally, having ignored the earlier indebtedness report, Graves continued to ignore all Convention actions with reference to the indebtedness to the Bishop. Ignoring the content and implications of the various Convention actions regarding indebtedness to the Bishop involves blame we must assign to Graves.

Yet, certain of the actions themselves reflect discredit on various conventions and committees. Though the Convention of 1873 acknowledged an indebtedness of $21,882.18, and in the interval only $4,032.10 was paid toward the debt, the Convention of 1875 resolved that the amount of indebtedness be reduced to $13,858.27. In effect, that Convention repudiated $3,991.81 of its arrearage to the Bishop. A similar slight-of-hand-by-vote occurred at the Convention of 1885. As of 1874 the admitted indebtedness was $13,858.27, and in the time through the beginning of the Convention of 1886 the Bishop was paid $2,815.92 less than the salary due. Nonetheless, rather than increase the indebtedness figure by that amount, the Convention voted to reduce the indebtedness figure by a total of $2,190.07. Later a Convention committee suggested that the Diocese offer the Bishop $7,500 as full payment for the liquidation of any outstanding salary debt. Though there is no direct evidence that the Bishop agreed to this arrangement, the money was raised and paid.

Not content with the earlier errors of his accounting, Graves ignored the Convention expectation that there was significant salary arrearage, that the Bishop was remitting the major portion of that arrearage in the interests of receiving the $7,500 payment, and included that payment on arrears as a part of current income. On the basis of a shameful series of errors made by conventions, committees, treasurers and particularly Graves, Bishop Kip was castigated in print for claiming that the Diocese had been less than fair with him in financial dealings.

It is easy to understand why, as he approached his seventy-eighth birthday, aware of the hostility which obviously lay behind the Graves' pamphlet, William Ingraham Kip must have felt a touch of disappointment and sadness. As life ebbed away and ill health took its toll, he must have recalled the many struggles and antagonisms in which he was unwillingly involved, which avoided the partisanship generally abroad in the Church and partook only of the personal and particular.[12]

During the late 1880's an antagonism developed between the clergy of the northern part of the Diocese and those of Southern California. There was no doubt that Bishop Kip was "almost blind and too feeble to give much oversight to the work in the south." Conventions and other Diocesan activities took place in San Francisco, necessitating the expense and inconvenience of Southern Californians making the long trip north. Eventually, the clergy organized the Convocation or Deanery of Southern California. It operated with great autonomy, and it was a special occasion when the Bishop was able to attend a Deanery meeting in 1888. When the establishment of the separate jurisdiction for Northern California was being considered, Kip had suggested a similar jurisdiction for Southern California. The clergy could legitimately expect his support for autonomy and even separation. Yet at the 1888 meeting, the Bishop made comments which gave additional impetus to the movement for separation. Many of these clergy maintained their own parishes, while establishing outlying mission congregations; it was a common practice throughout the Deanery. The Bishop said:

> I cannot understand you young men. When I was rector of St. Peter's (sic), Albany, I did my work, and conducted the affairs of the parish but I did not consider it my business to go outside and found missions.

The people of Southern California had three reasons for considering division appropriate. First were the factors of distance from Diocesan Headquarters and resulting transportation costs. Second was the long-since expressed desire of the Bishop. Third was the difference over missionary and evangelism policies.[13]

A group of Southern Californians petitioned the Diocesan Convention to take steps for a division of the Diocese. Terming such a division and the establishment of a diocese in Southern California "inevitable" the Bishop gave the necessary approval to proceed. When the Convention had approved the plan in principle, Bishop Kip appointed a committee to take the necessary legal steps.[14] In 1889, that committee reported five of its members supporting the division, three opposed to the principle of division, and one member opposed for personal reasons. The latter was John A. Stanly, the chancellor. He was troubled by the picture drawn of the Bishop as a necessary pre-condition to meeting the national canonical requirements for division of a diocese. Taking umbrage at the picture given, Stanly said of the Bishop:

> ...he, or his ill-advised friends, has put him on the records of this Convention, as one, of such impaired faculties, that he is incapable of discharging the Episcopal functions. And we have heard from the floor of this Convention, proceeding from one of his clergy who aspired to speak as his mouth-piece and as his particular representative, that these impaired faculties are of a mental character.

The Convention voted its assent to the division of the Diocese. Permission was not granted without serious debate. The alternate proposal was that the Diocese elect an Assistant Bishop. However, the Convention resolved itself "imcompetent to proceed" because of the "want of clearly defined jurisdiction on the part of Assistant Bishops." Some days after the Convention, Bishop Kip gave the necessary legal consent to the division of the Diocese.[15] Having taken all the necessary legal steps within the Diocese, the matter had next to be presented at the forthcoming General Convention.

Bishop Kip gave the movement for division of the Diocese the support and prestige of his participation in the General Convention by personally presenting the memorial of the Diocese to the House of Bishops. When the House of Deputies -- evenly divided between the clergy and lay delegates--approved division of the Diocese of California, the Bishops refused to concur until they had sufficient time to consider the matter. Ultimately they refused concurrence altogether. Yet they requested a conference committee be established between the two Houses -- Bishop Kip having been excluded from membership. Bishop Theodore Lyman, once elected Rector of the parish in Rome, Italy on Kip's recommendation, and later called to Trinity Church, San Francisco, was a member of the conference committee. The committee reported that it did not consider "the bodily infirmity and disability of the present venerable Bishop" as providing proper justification for division of the Diocese. It added that a young and vigorous bishop would not find responsibility for the whole jurisdiction "an oppressive task."[16] This appears to be clear demonstration of Kip's inability to influence events of importance to himself. Notable leaders in Southern California attributed the defeat of their movement to political activity at the General Convention on the part of important members of the Diocesan Standing Committee, in opposition to the policy and preference of the Bishop.[17]

At the General Convention of 1889, Bishop Kip was active, though not a leader. He continued to serve as a member of the Commission on the Revision of the Course of Theological Study. But that Commission proposed no substantive changes, nor is there evidence of Kip's role on that Commission. As one of the senior bishops in attendance, Kip was appointed to the House of Bishops Committee on the Pastoral Letter.[18]

Long an opponent of ecclesiastical partisanship, Bishop Kip was equally strong in his support of liturgical options, allowing for practices of no great doctrinal significance. He believed that allowing such latitude in behavior emphasized the catholicity of the Church and diminished parisanship on issues which were essentially unimportant. Various proposals for revision of the Book of Common Prayer were under consideration. Kip opposed one report which urged a halt to the revision process as being beyond the scope of the committee's charge, and which opposed change _per se_ as divisive in and of itself.[19] Opposition to all change, and liturgical narrowness, were attitudes which he firmly opposed.

One of the major issues which arose in the House of Bishops was that of succession to the office of Presiding Bishop. The Bishop who was senior by date of consecration to the episcopacy always became Presiding Bishop when the office was vacated by death. Only death vacated the office. The possible effects of senility and the known and present effects of the infirmities of age gave rise to the concern for the dignity of the office and the ability of the Presiding Bishop to perform the ever-increasing duties of the office. At a special 1887 meeting of the House of Bishops, Kip and four other senior bishops were designated a committee to formulate recommendations to the House for the 1889 General Convention. Kip, as the senior member of the House, and next in line to become Presiding Bishop, was chairman of the committee. He gave the matter careful attention and corresponded with other bishops in advance of the Convention. He liked the "dignity in selecting the oldest Bishop," and expressed the hope that "it never would be changed." Yet recognizing his own infirmities and those of Presiding Bishops throughout his lifetime, he added the hope that canons would permit "the

Presiding Bishop, should health or years require it, to resign his office to the next in order." The committee report was an obvious set of compromises. It envisioned that the senior bishop function as titular leader of the Church with the title and dignity of Presiding Bishop. He would be responsible for all correspondence with "foreign churches." Meanwhile the five senior bishops present at a meeting of the House would submit the names of three bishops, one of whom would be elected chairman of the House for a nine year term. The chairman would bear functional responsibilities for the administrative and presidential duties.[20] This satisfied Bishop Kip because it provided for the dignity of the senior bishop while permitting a remedy for the problems of infirmity.

Following the General Convention, political activity within the Diocese of California increased. The Bishop had spoken to the Diocesan Convention of the infirmities of age; these infirmities had been noted in the report of the Conference committee on the division of the Diocese. Nobody believed that William Ingraham Kip could bear the burdens and responsibilities of his office. The movement toward division of the Diocese had been aborted by the General Convention and could not be attempted again until the General Convention three years hence. The only reasonable option was the election of an Assistant Bishop. Pursuit of that remedy would take time. In the meanwhile, Bishop Kip and the Diocese of California were beneficiaries of an unwritten rule of the House of Bishops that one bishop renders assistance to another bishop in need. Over the next several months various bishops visited

California and performed Episcopal functions; these included the Bishops of Northern California, Utah and Nevada, Maine and Vermont.[21] The help of Western Bishops can be readily understood, but visitations from Maine and Vermont demonstrate the depth and durability of the collegiality in the House of Bishops.

The possibility of electing an Assistant Bishop had been raised and rejected in the Diocesan Convention earlier in the year. In early March, Bishop Kip had asked the Standing Committee to take the necessary steps for the election of an Assistant Bishop. Mentioning the growth of the clergy list from two active clergy in 1854 to the time of writing when there were 20 in Northern California and 91 in California, he said, "I feel therefore, my work is done ... I am justified in asking you for relief." The Standing Committee reviewed the three reasons for which an Assistant Bishop might be elected: (1) the bishop's inability to function as a result of age, (2) other permanent causes of infirmity, and (3) the extent of the Diocese. On the basis of the first two justifications, a Diocesan Convention could proceed on its own to the election of an Assistant Bishop. An election on the basis of the third reason required permission of the General Convention or a majority of the Bishops and Standing Committees in the American Church. California's Standing Committee refused to act on Bishop Kip's request because it interpreted this as a request based on the justification of the size and geographic extent of the Diocese. It countered with the suggestion of pursuing the option of the division of the Diocese. This Committee action forced Bishop Kip into the embarrassing position of publicly admitting to "the increasing infirmities of old age" as he requested the clergy and lay delegates to the Diocesan Convention to grant him relief by the election of an Assistant Bishop. Eventually, the Convention was forced to declare itself "incompetent to proceed with the election of an Assistant Bishop," because the call for this election and the Convention came from the Bishop, while the Constitution of the Diocese required that a call for election should come from the Standing Committee. Having completed steps for division of the Diocese, and for presentation of that request to the General Convention, the Diocesan Convention then resolved to request that the Standing Committee issue the legal notice for the election of an Assistant Bishop.[22] There was no doubt that the Diocesan Convention wanted the presence of a younger and active Bishop. The Convention was on record as favoring both division of the Diocese, and election of an Assistant Bishop.

The Kips were absent from the last few days of the General Convention, so the Bishop missed action on the new canon on Assistant Bishops. Shortly after their return to San Francisco, he wrote the Secretary of the House of Bishops requesting accurate information. When the Standing Committee became convinced that the Bishop would really "devolve upon an Assistant the responsibility of his high office," it began the necessary procedures for the election. On December 24, the Committee resolved that the Bishop was permanently disabled. It then dispatched a subcommittee to meet with the Bishop and recommend that he call a special convention to elect an Assistant Bishop to whom Kip was expected to "assign entire control of the Diocese, and be relieved from all further care and responsibilities." On December 31, the subcommittee reported "agreement on the part of the Bishop."[23] Apparently, the Standing Committee had mustered its political strength and forced the Bishop to agree with its demands. This was an episode which the Bishop must have found greatly demeaning, though he bore it without public complaint.

William Ford Nichols was elected Assistant Bishop on February 6, 1890.[24] There was limited attendance from Southern California at the Special Convention, and the Standing Committee later reported that a storm of protests arrived from the south following the election. Nonetheless, the next regular Diocesan Convention resolved to deny the validity of public newspaper stories mentioning "suppressed ill-feeling on the part of the delegates from Southern California." Surprised by the election, when he thought his name had been withdrawn, Nichols was bewildered by the deluge of correspondence from California -- some urging acceptance and some urging refusal.[25]

The gratuitous incoming correspondence presented a well-rounded picture of the Diocese. With the material in hand, Nichols had a good understanding of the nature and dynamics of the Diocese. There was a printed open letter to some of the clergy from the rector of Trinity Church, San Jose, in which he protested a special advance caucus of clergy in San Francisco and environs, as encouraging the clergy to preselect a candidate for the office of Assistant Bishop, and as improperly excluding the laity, and finally improperly excluding the people from Southern California. This alerted Nichols to some of the north-south tensions, and the political machinations of some northern clergy vis-a-vis the rest of the Diocese -- clergy and lay. The news from Southern California was not reassuring. Thomas Haskins, Rector of Christ Church, Los Angeles, wrote a pledge of support to Nichols. He then proceeded to catalogue various local parish troubles -- including those occasioned by his own assistant who contrary to a pledge to Haskins and the Vestry, left precipitously to begin a new mission, thereby draining strength from Christ Church. After mentioning several other difficulties he sought to reassure Nichols by saying, "don't trouble yourself about it, but file this away for future consideration." The promise of abounding difficulties in the Los Angeles area must have been sobering, worrisome, and raised serious doubts as to the wisdom of accepting election. One prominent rector warned Nichols that "Southern California was wholly unrepresented" at the Convention by which he had been elected. The Vestry of another parish wired that the Southern California area "protested against election." Henry Restarick, who had earlier wired Nichols, wrote a lengthy letter, described recent Diocesan Conventions as "disgraceful scenes of animosity -- and bitter fights." He expressed the wish that a Convention fully representing north and south had been the scene of election. Meanwhile Elias Birdsall, senior member of the clergy in Southern California, wrote urging that Nichols accept election and pledging that "the great body of clergy and layity (sic) will accept the result with thankfulness and will not encourage factious opposition." As added reassurance he said: "Some of the fiery brethren cool off after a little -- listen to reason and behave themselves." Even such reassurance demonstrates the divisiveness and danger in the situation. The Dean of the Convocation of Southern California, the Reverend A. G. L. Trew, also wrote Nichols. Mentioning the bitter antagonism between north and south, and southern bitterness over its lack of involvement in the election (partially conditioned by a blockage on the railroad) he urged Nichols to refuse the election, urge a new Convention including north and south, while leaving the door open to his own re-election. Trew warned Nichols that an irrevocable refusal would mean "the bitterness will be intensified." There was no doubt that the Diocese was beset by bitterness and antagonism initiated by sectional rivalry and political maneuvering which were beyond the capacity of the tired and aged Bishop Kip to control. In Bishop Kip's last years, the partisanship and antagonism which he had so long denied were apparent and crippling to his Diocese. The issues were different than Churchmanship and ritualism which had beset the rest of the Church. Nonetheless, the effects were essentially the same.

When the Standing Committee notified Nichols of his election, it also announced he would have "full jurisdiction and administration." Bishop Kip wired that the Diocese would accord "a very hearty welcome." Other communications from the northern part of the Diocese were irenic in nature and purport.[26]

A warm welcome was accorded William Ford Nichols -- especially by the Kips. The two families shared a pleasant time of conversation and joint prayer which marked the beginning of a warm relationship.[27] Having endured substantial hostility, and suffering numerous parliamentary and procedural defeats, Bishop Kip finally had the relief and opportunity for rest he so badly needed.

There are only two events of note during William Ingraham Kip's brief total retirement. In 1892 he published a compilation of the series of articles published at the beginning of his episcopate under the title, The Early Days of My Episcopate. It was reported that the book was published by a group of lay church members. In a period of lost vigor which created anxiety among his friends and relatives, the Bishop rallied and his health seemed improved briefly with the publication of the book. Ultimately he returned to the ever-increasing downward trend of health.[28]

Later the same year Bishop Kip ordained his grandson William Ingraham Kip, III, as a deacon. With a mixture of curiosity and respect for the aged Bishop, sixteen clergy attended the service at which Bishops Nichols and Wingfield officiated. Bishop Kip sat quietly in a side room during the Morning Prayer Service which preceded the ordination. The two assisting bishops assisted Kip to the chancel and seated him in the Episcopal Throne. When the younger Kip had been questioned by Bishop Nichols he moved forward and knelt in front of his grandfather. With difficulty, Bishop Kip stretched out his hands allowing his grandson to position his head under the outstretched hands. The assembled congregration was deeply moved by the extent of the Bishop's infirmities and the depth of his sufferings. Many must have missed the barely audible words of ordination. Only with help was Bishop Kip able to convey the New Testament and stole as the symbols of office. His strength ebbing rapidly and with concern for his physical well-being rising, Bishop Kip was physically supported in his departure.[29]

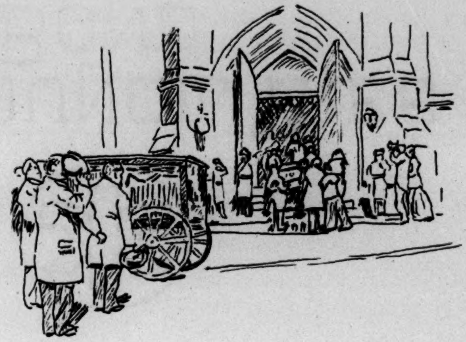
At six minutes after midnight on April 7, 1893, William Ingraham Kip died. Family members had long since been joined by Bishop Nichols in a solemn death watch. The fatal illness became obvious several weeks before the Bishop died. A few days before his death he became comatose, rallying to "gleams of consciousness," though never fully regaining his senses. Bishop Nichols was reading the service for the dying when Kip "passed away so peacefully and quietly that none of the family realized he was dead until a few moments afterward."[30]

The laudatory comments which began with the onset of his fatal illness had several common elements. They stressed his learning, his concern for social status and proprieties, his personal dignity, his quiet and simple personal style, and his abhorrence of strife and discord.[31] These were the virtues the public knew and recognized. Yet there were also the virtues of self-sacrifice, a deep sense of duty and calling, and an ability to endure suffering such that it was possible for him to continue his ministry in the face of frequent rejection, political maneuvering within the Church and potentially crippling financial neglect on the part of the Diocese.

The casket was taken from the Kip home to Grace Church where admission was had only by presenting the special admission card. The Church filled quickly, leaving a crowd outside shivering in a cold north wind. Fifty-one clergy of the Episcopal Church attended as did several habited sisters. Bishop Nicholas of the Greek Orthodox Church attended and throughout the service stood by the chancel rail without actively participating. Three squads of ten policemen each were necessary to control the traffic and crowd. The inexpensive, black cloth-covered casket bore a simple engraved silver plate giving the Bishop's name and dates of birth and death--nothing more. Bishop Nichols slowly led the casket into Grace Church with the familiar words, "I am the Resurrection and the Life ...," while Bishop Wingfield assisted in conducting the service. By family request there were no ostentatious floral displays, but rather a simple cross of ferns surmounted by a single floral wreath. At the cemetery nearly 500 persons attended as the Bishop's remains were temporarily placed in the Toland family vault.[32] It remains to those of us in later years and generations to determine how well and faithfully William Ingraham Kip accomplished the charge and tasks which sent him to California:

> to gather up and reduce to order these disjointed fragments and breathe a spirit of harmony into these conflicting elements of life which here seemed to be in almost hopeless collision.

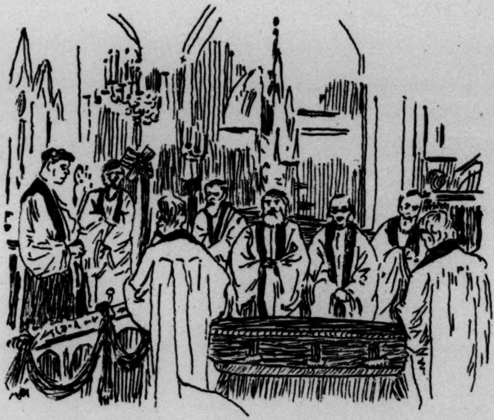
BISHOP WILLIAM INGRAHAM KIP'S FUNERAL



BEARING BISHOP KIP'S CASKET INTO GRACE CHURCH.

After a drawing in San Francisco Morning Call, April 11, 1893.

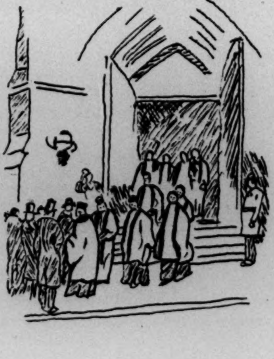
CLERGY GATHERED ABOUT BISHOP'S BODY IN GRACE CHURCH.



After a drawing in San Francisco Examiner, April 11, 1893.

CORTEGE OF CLERGY LEAVE GRACE CHURCH.

After a drawing in San Francisco Morning Call, April 11, 1893.



CONCLUSIONS

If we are to learn from the lives of our forebearers, it is necessary briefly to summarize the events and common elements in their lives. Yet we risk demeaning them by so concise and incomplete a recitation that we deprive them of the complexity which retains a three-dimensional quality. We have not studied William Ingraham Kip as a family man, or as a man of emotions, or as a man of private pursuits, or as a man of a host of other facets. While we have examined a multiplicity of his facets, William Ingraham Kip is not here presented as a whole jewel to be enjoyed. As a result, we draw conclusions which represent a set of facets on one side of the subject. We have been incomplete and our conclusions must reflect that fact. Readers may find hints of other facets in the text; they may sadly wonder why conclusions they have drawn are not presented. We have tried to be sparing in drawing conclusions. Readers are invited to draw additional conclusions as they think the data warrant.

Throughout his life, William Ingraham Kip confronted the issue of the relationship between church and state (or law and religion). He tested the study of the law, but turned to the ordained ministry. In later years, he opposed the proposed State Constitution with some hesitance and acknowledgment that he was unaccustomed to being active in politics due to his role in the Church.

The notion of the separate spheres of church and state, lacking any direct relationship was deeply embedded in Kip's mind. This understanding led to his dissociation from the politics of an Albany paper for which he wrote literary reviews. The most obvious example of this principle was his insistence that clergy and parishes avoid reference to the fratricidal Civil War. Part of his request for silence was based on practical concerns for the survival of the Church. However, the larger reason for his urging quiet was the principle of almost total separation of church and state.

The clergy came under Kip's close scrutiny regarding their involvement in state matters. The Bishop expected both silence and inaction of the clergy on matters of public policy. The ecclesiastical trial of George Taylor resulted basically from Taylor's violation of Kip's policies in this regard. Association with Thomas Starr King was to join those who saw the Church as having a role in directing and guiding the state. Kip's antagonism to the Protestants in Hawaii was similarly initiated -- they tampered in the affairs of the Hawaiian state. Numerous other examples could be identified.

It would not be accurate to say that Kip believed there should be no relationship between religion and the state. On the contrary, he believed that religious principles guided the state whether or not national leaders wished such assistance. Rather than the institution of the church taking a role, Kip considered it proper that the Church prepare parishioners to take active roles in the affairs of state, then to leave it to the laity to influence the state. Because of this indirect relationship to public policy, Kip thought it best that the church maintain silence on specific matters of law, addressing itself rather to general principles which the laity were intended to apply to their understanding of, and influence in, the state.

In the privacy of the family, and in relationship to purely family matters, Kip found it possible actively to relate to the matters of the state. Thus, during the Civil War, he was not the least hesitant about being active in furthering the military career of his elder son. He sought to use friendships and political contacts in this endeavor. He kept his roles carefully differentiated; when functioning as father, his behavior was unrelated to his role and status as a bishop. Because of this spearation of roles, there was no concern for an improper relationship between church and state. But, apart from family responsibilities, Kip could not lay aside his position as a clergyman. In the private capacity of father the two spheres could be intimately related as they could and should be for any layman. As an ordained member of the clergy, the two spheres were to be kept without direct relationship.

The nature of the church was another area of great interest to William Ingraham Kip. In addition to the church's role vis-à-vis the state, he fostered other principles about the church. These he espoused throughout his life.

Examining the polarities of the emotional and intellectual dimensions of life, Kip declared that the church should not be principally one or the other. He was disturbed by denominations which fell close to either. He believed that the church should embody both factors in a moderate balance, that faith should appeal to both.

The proper focus of attention of the Church, in Kip's thought, is the propagation of eternal principles. These principles should be applied to the contemporary world by individual faithful persons. It was not considered proper for the church to address itself to the details of the application of the principles to daily life. Nonetheless, Kip most emphasized a faith which had daily social and political application. Occasionally, he ventured application in the form of urging support for a church-sponsored venture (such as a school or hospital). At times, he hinted of the judgment awaiting mankind on the basis of the application of the eternal principles. So there was a touch of eschatology in his portrayal of the nature of the church. Still, his major focus was on daily life in his own times. His understanding of the nature of the church forced him to be a clear-headed realist.

William Ingraham Kip believed the Church should function as a national conscience without exercising direct and overt judgment. It should identify evil and urge repentence. He saw the church as being in the lineage of the prophets of Israel. It remains to be discerned how that prophetic judgment was to be fully exercised without addressing the details of daily life and especially the details of national political and social affairs. Still, his consciousness of "national sins" ran deep, and drew occasional firm comment.

Closely related to the exercise of judgment was the church's role as a vehicle of redemption. By mediating redemption, the church gave rise to good works of faith. Providing for schools, hospitals and the needs of the poor are examples of the works which regularly drew Kip's attention and support. It was certain in Kip's mind that good works were the grateful evidence of faith. The redemption involved was principally an individual matter, though there seem to be hints that the sum total of a large number of redeemed persons would be a redeemed society. The debauched conditions of California during his early days, and the lack of large-scale response to his call for the support of the Diocese and its institutions led Kip to doubt the depth and genuineness of redemption among the laity of California.

Another mark of the church, in Kip's thought, was its function as a forum for truth and freedom. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Kip was always able to draw a distinction between the faith and discipline of the Church. He decried many of the practices of the Roman Catholic Church, and especially those of the Papacy. Most especially was he troubled by the close and suffocating relationships between church and state in Europe. Yet he did not confuse the practices he detested with the essence of the faith itself. He believed that the Roman Catholic Church had departed from its proper calling by limiting freedom and the exploration for the truth.

This ability to differentiate aided Kip in his thinking about ecumenical matters. It caused him to permit greater diversity and freedom of thought among the clergy of California than was generally permitted in other dioceses in the United States. If we were to look for one principle which was most responsible for his moderation, it would have to be this belief in the church as a forum for truth and freedom.

One part of the work of the church was to engage in the mission of sharing the eternal principles. That missionary responsibility might be the occasion for sacrifice and struggle, which should be borne with patience and faith. There was a responsibility to follow those of nominal relationship to the church in the hope of nurturing or encouraging the small sparks of faith they retained. Those lacking any faith were to be evangelized as a second priority. In assessing the potential for missionary work and the allocation of scarce resources, William Ingraham Kip rather openly applied a "return on investment" standard.

The American Indian was an obvious target for evangelization. The historian in Kip caused him to be attentive to the seizure of Indian lands by White society. The moralist in him forced him to acknowledge that when the Indian received compensation, it was inadequate. In short, the Indian was a victim of many and great injustices. They were deserving of White support. However, given the trend in relationships and the health statistics, Kip believed the American Indian would soon disappear from the nation. As a result, there would be little enduring value in evangelizing the Indian. Furthermore, he saw little success in most Indian missions, and concluded that there was little prospect that the Indians would either improve their standard of living or style of life, or that they would be receptive to the essence of the Gospel message which the church would preach. With those factors in mind, he chose to ignore the Indian population of California throughout his episcopate.

Since his early days, Kip had known Black Episcopalians. He was well aware of the existence of stable and enduring Black congregations in major cities of Atlantic Coast States. He thought Blacks worthy of attention and entitled to the ministry of the Episcopal Church. Nonetheless, he echoed what has been said for a long time: Black people are not attracted to the Episcopal Church. This observation he affirmed without any statement as to the reasons for that situation. It appears that Kip believed various denominations appealed primarily to people of similar socio-economic groups. In that regard he was certain that the Blacks and Whites were not not social equals. It would be easy for us to shift the language of his stance to say he did not believe they should be equals, or ever could be equals, but he only clearly indicated a belief as to the facts of the situation at his time. Kip did accept Blacks as within the proper scope of his episcopal ministry. He desired that they receive the ministrations of Black clergy, and that a Black deacon have the supervision of and pastoral relationship with a White priest. Yet, he seems to have followed a policy of allowing functional autonomy and independence of action for such a Black clergyman.

The Chinese minority was also the object of Bishop Kip's attention. He began his ministry in California with an expression of high hopes for the Church's potential for the evangelization of Chinese both in California and in China. There was a note of eagerness about this possibility.

Soon the hope faded. The few Chinese Christians did not bring vast numbers to the Church. The work of an early missionary was crippled by language, financial and other factors. On closer examination, Kip discovered that immigrant Chinese lived in the hope of amassing sufficient money to return to China to live in luxury; they were emotionally attached to their Chinese roots and place. As a result, they had neither intention nor desire to become acculturated to the American scene. Furthermore, he detected a factionalism and divisiveness which made it impossible properly and successfully to appeal to the whole of the immigrant Chinese population. Even if other factors had warranted intensive efforts at evangelization, Kip sensed that the divisiveness he saw would make large-scale success impossible.

It is easy to evaluate predecessors by application of one's own standards, but Kip did not work with today's conditions. He had limited resources both in clergy and in finances. He was responsible for a vast territory. There were Anglicans spread throughout his Diocese, most of whom lacked access to the active ministry of the Church. In such a situation, the Bishop had to raise the traditional issue of business: return on investment. When he assessed the potential for useful ministry among the Chinese as compared to that among dispersed American miners and settlers, he decided that missionary work among the Chinese had to be considered of lower priority. Yet this choice was one of practical and functional dimensions rather than one based on theology. There was no theological reason for Kip to turn aside from ministry among the Chinese.

Minority peoples merited missionary endeavor, according to Bishop Kip. They were not subject to a different status by virtue of theological understanding. There was, indeed, a responsibility for working to incorporate minorities within the Church. With that stance in mind, the normal judgment of allocation of resources became necessary. In general, it was his judgment that the minority peoples in his Diocese did not warrant high priority in the scramble for severely limited resources.

A personal missionary style was developed by Bishop Kip. Certainly it was not developed _de novo_, but was based on insight and experience of Bishop Jackson Kemper. Kip took upon himself the role of primary missionary of the Diocese.

The method Kip developed was simple, and used in virtually every new situation into which he came. First, he would identify contact persons in advance. Sometimes this would involve receiving suggestions from Episcopalians in neighboring towns, sometimes it would be a gleaning of names from visitors from the place in question. Second, he would arrive in town and initiate publicity about his entry and presence. This usually involved both use of the local newspaper and a word-of-mouth circulation of information. Third, he would conduct a public service in a large place of public gathering--often a school, courthouse, or the church of another denomination. Fourth, he would conduct visitations among those who appeared for worship, and those whose names were given him--especially the sick and dying. Often there would be a second public service. This second service allowed him to judge the impact of his calling, and the durability and size of the potential congregation. Fifth, he would meet with the apparent leaders who had becomeknown to him--often with other laity present and contributing--to assess the viability of a possible congregation. Finally, if it appeared a stable worshipping congregation could be formed, he would appoint a layreader to maintain the small band. During ensuing months, Kip would seek a suitable clergyman, and provide continuing visitations, pastoral services, and supervision for both layreader and congregation.

As Kip understood the missionary endeavor, it was directed toward the establishment of enduring congregations of believing Christians. It was based on committed lay leadership and ministry. It would be the individuals in those congregations who would seek out other individuals in need of conversion. In short, his was a ministry and a mission of gathering up the lost fragments of the household of faith.

Another missionary endeavor in which Bishop Kip was deeply interested was work in Hawaii. He saw this as non-political work, even though others would see it as a means of establishing British presence and power in the Hawaiian palace. It would also provide a counter balance to the work of American Protestant missionaries in Hawaii. He was troubled by the increasingly political and pro-American character of those missionaries. They were, in his view, tampering with the integrity of Hawaii under the guise of Christian mission. He hoped for a Christian presence and work which was sufficiently non-political as to leave Hawaiian independence and autonomy untouched.

While theinitial call was for an Anglican chaplaincy to the Royal Family of Hawaii, Kip envisioned a ministry which would be larger and more potent than that requested. As with his assessment of ministry to minorities, he seemed to accept the notion that an Hawaiian mission would need to begin small and proceed slowly. It would need to be under Royal protection. It would have to be a conscious alternative to the existing Protestant missions.

The initial request for a clergy presence came to Kip, and he accepted and assumed an important role in developing the work. He encouraged hope for clergy. He presented the proposal to those with resources for meeting the request. He encouraged both English and American bishops to promote the venture. Ultimately he served as confidant and advisor to the resident English Bishop. He also came to the public defense of the mission when it was attacked.

Throughout his life, and especially during his episcopacy, William Ingraham Kip worked to share the Message of the Gospel, with those outside the active ranks of the Church. He sought lapsed members. He supported work among those who were close at hand, but had never been members of the Church. He actively supported work among those at a distance who had never been members of the Church. Without flamboyance, he functioned as a missionary.

With deep sadness, Kip realized that the Episcopal Church was committed to the maintenance of congregations in the mining towns of California while the population was shifting to the more settled agricultural areas of the State. He struggled in the tension between the places of the near past and the developing areas. Could existing congregations which were dwindling, but barely viable, be abandoned in favor of undeveloped possibilities and needs in agricultural areas. A sense of committment to those who had struggled to establish, build, and maintain the early congregations in the Diocese made it impossible for him to abandon them. While expressing the desire that the Church be mobile and responsive to the developing social, economic and political situations, the Bishop remained tied to the places of the past. He was aware thatlimited resources forced him to risk the Episcopal Church in California being left behind as society and the State changed.

By inclination and choice, William Ingraham Kip was a moderate force in often immoderate circumstances. He functioned as a popularizer rather than a partisan. He accepted a special role of moderation in California. His ecumenical perspectives were unusual.

With a focus on the Church, articles and books on history, travel, Scripture, and theology were authored by William Ingraham Kip. His translations provided additional historical data on the history of the church.

As a moderating influence, Kip wrote with an even hand. His article about Archbishop Laud was intended to force High Church partisans to reassess Laud, without attacking the principles on which they took their stance. He hoped to cause an honest re-evaluation of some heroes from Church history so that there might be a more open and honest discussion of contemporary positions taken by High Church and Evangelical factions in the Episcopal Church.

Writing about the City of Rome, and implicitly the Roman Catholic Communion, he spoke of both beauty and squalor. He suggested the temporal powers of the Papacy were unwarranted, and impeded the socio-economic progress of the people under Papal rule. Yet he extolled the beauties of both the City and the Church in some of its ceremonies, and intentions. This was no simplistic pro-Anglican nor anti-Roman position. The concept of the Anglican Communion as the via media between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism was clear and firm.

As first Bishop, Kip was sent to California to face a situation of tension and disagreement between the two parishes in San Francisco with a self-understood charge "to gather up and reduce to order these disjointed fragments and breathe a spirit of harmony into these conflicting elements." From the outset, he was intended to function as a mediator; both factions were to be brought into a harmony which could be effected only by moderation, not by partisanship. Many Kip friends, and apparently even Kip himself, viewed his placement in California as "exile". Nonetheless, he willingly accepted this position. Distance and the condition of the Church in California made it impossible for its Bishop to function effectively as a partisan in conflicts which would take place in Eastern States. By accepting the bishopric of California, Kip accepted a position which signaled impotence--hence, functional moderation--in the national conflict.

The foregoing factors related to his acceptance of the work in California suggest Kip's self-view as a moderate. As a sympathizer and proponent of the High Church theological and liturgical positions, Kip might be joined with them as a partisan. However, he frequently spoke of the partisans in that faction as "my ultra brethren." Such a phrase suggests the depth of his distaste for the extremism of this faction.

Though the Episcopal Church was disinclined to ecumenical endeavors, William Ingraham Kip was at least willing to entertain the notion that some concessions might be in order for renewing the unity of Christendom. Contrary to other bishops and leading clergy, Kip was never suspected of seeking changes which would "Romanize" the Episcopal Church. Neither was he suspected of intending to join the Roman Communion. His travel writings frequently included criticism of factors, doctrines, and people within the Roman Catholic Church. On the other hand, he also spoke favorably of Roman Catholicism.

His commendations were in two areas. First, he respected the devotion and sacrifice which led to Roman missionary endeavors. He especially commended the Jesuit efforts to convert those in foreign lands. Though he was troubled by the political activities of the Jesuits, this criticism was outweighed by his praise of their work in propagating the faith. Second, the essentials of the faith were retained and conveyed by the Roman Catholic Church. He believed that they were augmented and slightly altered on occasion, yet they were recognizable. Kip expressed the hope that the purity of faith espoused by the "Primitive Church" might be recaptured by Roman Catholics; still, that was the same hope he expressed for Anglicans. Often he decried not the faith, but the practice of the Roman Church. He was able to distinguish between faith and practice in a way few of his contemporaries found possible. Reunion was not beyond his thinking or hope.

The Protestant denominations were accorded criticism also. Kip was troubled by the emotionalism of many of the Protestant groups. He also admired the efforts of many Protestants in supporting educational ventures. He cooperated in some ecumenical ventures such as the Young Men's Christian Association. On occasion Kip expressed a willingness to alter some of the practices with which he was most familiar and comfortable if such accommodation would make it possible for Protestants to feel comfortable within the larger Church. As with his evaluation of Roman Catholicism, he was concerned for the retention of the essential faith of the Church. Practices were expendable in the interest of fidelity to the possibility of a reunited Christendom.

The ability to express both positive and negative views of Roman Catholic and Protestant positions was unusual in the Episcopal Church of William Ingraham Kip's day. The natural ease with which he made these comments is another evidence of the moderation with which he addressed the issues of the church.

The administration and leadership of the Diocese of California disclosed a temperate nature in its bishop. Kip frequently expressed relief at the absence of the harsh partisanship which marked life in other dioceses. In truth, there was not that type of partisanship. With the power to select, or control the selection, of clergy in California, Bishop Kip did not limit employment to those of a particular stripe of theology and Churchmanship. Rather, he permitted a diversity of clergy perspectives.

Sacrifice was a concept to which William Ingraham Kip frequently returned. It was a major point of emphasis throughout his life. During his travels, he noted with great respect the self-sacrificing work of Tertiaries of various Roman Catholic Religious orders. He commended the sacrificial lives of the clergy of his Diocese. He urged prospective seminary graduates to offer themselves in sacrificial ways to the missionary endeavors of the Church. He urged self-sacrifice on the laity of California as the principal way in which the work of the Church would be realized.

Closely related to his emphasis on sacrifice was his judgment of worldly success. He reminded people that success by worldly standards was not necessarily to be equated with the success of faith. This judgment he also applied to the Church. Success in worldly terms in parishes and other agencies of the Church did not necessarily mean that the purity of faith was embodied there. Rather, it merely suggested that there is materialism in the Church also.

In factious times willing obedience is a rare commodity. This was one quality which William Ingraham Kip affected. He was not in league with those who urged and supported the suspension of Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk. He desired the return of Onderdonk to an active ministry. However, when it appeared impossible for his wishes to be realized, he acquiesced and became obedient to the decision of the Church--even though he believed it in error. The quality of obedience was shown in his acceptance of the bishopric which he considered a purposeful exile--including the unenviable task of bringing order out of a contentious situation. Numerous other examples of Kip's obedience to the judgment of the Church might be recounted. Because this was an important theological element for Kip, he both urged and lived the principle.

The Church has a role in the transformation of the world, according to Kip. The Church is the principal instrument for reforming individuals who then bear the responsibility for the improvement of the world about them. Thus, the Church had an indirect role in the reforming of the world.

There can be little doubt that William Ingraham Kip was a member of the respected aristocracy of New York. Until the Revolutionary War there was no challenge or threat to the position of the Kip family. The Toryism within the family adversely affected its financial position. In California, heritage played little role in a person's status and importance. Personal achievement was valued. Social customs which were important to the aristocracy were not widely valued. Minority peoples were to be reckoned with in new ways. Immigrants were unimpressed by New World aristocrats. Industrialism transformed social leadership and power. Technological knowledge challenged literary and philosophical learning; with increasing emphasis on scientific theory and practice the old academia began to crumble. Throughout his life, William Ingraham Kip watched the demise of the old aristocracy.

APPENDIX A:

H. T. Graves on the Bishop's Salary

Original found in
Archives
Diocese of California
San Francisco, California

To the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of California

In compliance with the numerous requests of the clergy and laity relative to the reported indebtedness of the Diocese to the Bishop, and in justice to Bishop Kip and the Diocese, the following statements of facts are presented in order to contradict the reports in circulation, that this Diocese is greatly in arrears to their Bishop for his salary.

From careful and thorough investigation of the Records of the Diocese, it is found that the Bishop has received his full salary and an excess of $1876.17.

In the year 1854 Bishop Kip was appointed Missionary Bishop for the jurisdiction of California. In 1857 the Diocese was organized when he was elected its Bishop.

From the date of his appointment as Missionary Bishop to the year 1862, Bishop Kip received a salary from the General Board of Missions of $3000.00 per annum. In 1862 he received $2000.00, and in 1863 he received $1000.00, making the total sum of $27,000.00 received from the Missionary Board.

During this period he officiated as Rector of Grace Church, the greater part of the time, for which services he received an additional salary of $3600.00 per annum, and in addition to this he also received from the other Parishes in the Diocese, what each could afford to pay.

In 1864 Bishop Kip went to Europe with his family and it was not until after his return, that the Diocese was asked to pledge a stipulated sum annually for his support. At the Convention in May, 1868, Bishop Kip requested that a stated salary be fixed for him, and the following resolution was passed by that Convention.

Resolved, "That the annual salary of the Bishop of this Diocese be fixed at Six Thousand Dollars," which resolution still remains in force.

The following statistics taken from the Records of the Diocese, will show the amount received by Bishop Kip each year since his salary was fixed :

1868	Received	$ 5839.45
1869	"	3812.20
1870	"	3469.10
1871	"	3277.43
1872	"	4806.20
1873	"	5521.66
1874	"	10045.68
1875	"	6011.42
1876	"	6630.90
1877	"	6712.40
1878	"	5788.78
1879	"	6002.37
1880	"	6212.37
1881	"	5135.73
1882	"	6020.90
1883	"	5986.11
1884	"	5345.40
1885	"	5872.77
1886	"	6381.30
1887	"	5162.53
1888	"	13951.78
1889	"	5889.69
Total received in 22 years,		$133,876.17
Salary of Bishop for 22 years at $6000.00 per annum,		132,000.00
Over paid,		$ 1876.17

From the foregoing it will be seen that the Diocese is not in arrears to their Bishop, but to the contrary Bishop Kip has been overpaid Eighteen Hundred and Seventy-six Dollars and Seventeen Cents.

The above amount does not include a purse of over Six Thousand Dollars presented to the Bishop at his Golden Wedding in 1885.

SAN FRANCISCO, September, 1889.

H. T. GRAVES,

Treasurer Diocese of California.

APPENDIX B:

Journals' Reports on Salary

JOURNALS' REPORTS ON SALARY

CONVENTION YEAR	GRAVES' ACCOUNT	JOURNAL ACCOUNT (CURRENT)	DEFICIT ON JOURNAL ACCOUNTS (CURRENT)	TOWARD JOURNALS' DEFICIT	RUNNING TOTAL DEFICIT	TRAVEL FUNDS	NOTES
	($)	($)	($)		($)	($)	
1854-60	-0-	1,355.00	1,395.00	-0-	1,395.00	-0-	Salary set at $3,000 yearly first salary period was 11 months (June to May).
1860-61	-0-	None Reported	3,000.00	-0-	4,395.00	-0-	
1861-62	-0-	170.00	2,830.00	-0-	7,225.00	-0-	
1862-63	-0-	714.50	2,285.50	-0-	9,510.50	20.00	
1863-64	-0-	557.20	2,442.80	-0-	11,953.30	-0-	
1864-65	-0-	207.70	2,792.30	-0-	14,745.60	-0-	
1865-66	-0-	1,487.23	1,572.77	-0-	16,258.37	-0-	
1866-67	-0-	3,000.00	-0-	900.55	15,357.82	-0-	
1867-68	5,839.45	3,000.00	-0-	2,839.45	12,518.37	-0-	Salary Received to Date: $14,231.63. A special committee of the Convention submitted an 1873 report showing a salary receipt figure of $14,231.73. The ten cent difference may be the result of a printing error, or a Committee calculation error. The deficit and indebtedness to the Bishop totalled $12,768.27. The difference between that figure and the amount here reported is $249.90 -- the ten cent figure plus $250 for the difference between pay for eleven months in 1859-60.
1868-69	3,812.20	3,812.20	2,187.80	-0-	14,706.17	-0-	Salary set at $6,000 yearly H. T. Graves, Treasurer, reported the May, 1868 Convention action setting the $6,000 figure. This salary would be effective with the Diocesan fiscal year 1868-69. Yet he begins his accounting with "1868" and reports the income for 1861-68 as applicable to the new salary figure. In this comparison, his figures are set beside the fiscal year

JOURNALS' REPORTS ON SALARY

CONVENTION YEAR	GRAVES' ACCOUNT	JOURNALS ACCOUNT (CURRENT)	DEFICIT ON JOURNAL ACCOUNT (CURRENT)	TOWARD JOURNALS' DEFICIT	RUNNING TOTAL DEFICIT	TRAVEL FUNDS	NOTES
							with the number of his whole-number year (i.e., his "1868" is set beside the Diocesan 1867-68 fiscal year).
1869-70	3,469.10	3,469.10	2,530.90	-0-	17,237.07	-0-	
1870-71	3,277.43	3,277.43	2,722.57	-0-	19,959.64	-0-	
1871-72	4,806.20	4,806.20	1,193.80	-0-	21,153.44	-0-	The special committee of the Convention of 1873 reported income to the Bishop during 1868 - May, 1873, amounting to $20,886.09. Journal reports total an additional half dollar: $20,886.59. The income dur during this period was $30,000.00; the deficit was $9,113.41 -- reported as $9,113.91. Considering the three errors noted in this column -- ten cents, a half dollar, and two hundred fifty dollars -- the total deficit reported here can be said to equal the 1873 indebtedness of $21,882.18 affirmed in the Committee report.
1873-73	5,521.66	5,521.66	478.34	-0-	21,631.78		
1873-74	10,045.68	6,000.00	-0-	4,020.68	17,611.10	-0-	Also received $25.00 in "Delinquent Visitation Fees." The Graves' account adds the fees to the "salary" category. A special committee of the Convention submitted a report saying $4,500.00 had been paid on the Diocesan indebtedness to the Bishop. The Treasurer's report shows a total payment of $10,020.68--which leaves $4,020.68 toward the indebtedness. In this accounting, we will continue the figures derived from the Treasurer's report, recognizing that at all future points, we may need to reduce the total indebtedness by $479.32 (the difference between Committee and Treasurer's reports). The Committee set the salary arrearage at $17,382.18

JOURNALS' REPORTS ON SALARY

CONVENTION YEAR	GRAVES' ACCOUNT	JOURNALS ACCOUNT (CURRENT)	DEFICIT ON JOURNAL ACCOUNTS (CURRENT)	TOWARD JOURNALS' DEFICIT	RUNNING TOTAL DEFICIT	TRAVEL FUNDS	NOTES
1874-75	6,011.42	6,000.00	-0-	11.42	17,599.68	-0-	Notwithstanding the report to the Previous Convention, a new committee urged the May, 1875 Convention to affirm a salary indebtedness of $13,858.27; this was moved and carried by the Convention. We will continue actual debt.
1875-76	6,630.90	6,000.00	-0-	380.90	17,218.78	-0-	Records of payments by the Treasurer list total salary payment of $6,380.90. Checking subordinate figures, one finds a total of $6,360.90. This latter figure looks like that in the Graves' pamphlet--with the figures in the hundreds and tens columns transposed. Because the printed figure (with transposition) is carried forward to Graves' grand total, it appears the error was in materials submitted to the printer. The income to the fund is listed as a total of $6,380.90 -- the amount listed as paid Bishop Kip. The Graves income figure is greater than listed fund assets. When components of income and assets are added anew, income totals $6,291.80--less than the lower salary figure given (that in contemporary records). The difference between $6,291.80--total of income and assets--and $6,380.90--the printed total--meets tests to suggest a transposition. Because fund income and assets and fund expenditures (salary payments) agree at $6,380.00, that amount is used here. Other than major error of transposition, the Graves' figure appears without warrant.
1876-77	6,712.40	6,000.00	-0-	468.82	16,749.96	243.58	Graves "salary" figure is actually a combination of the figures for salary and travel.

JOURNALS' REPORT ON SALARY

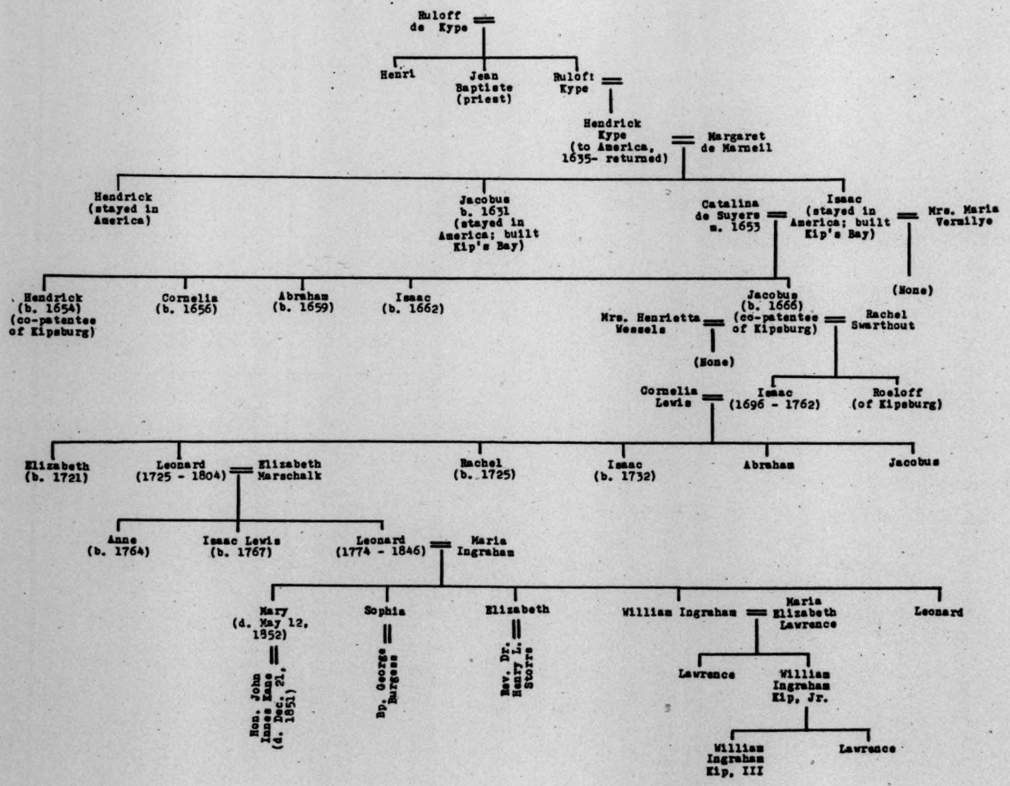
CONVENTION YEAR	GRAVES' ACCOUNT	JOURNALS' ACCOUNT (CURRENT)	DEFICIT ON JOURNAL ACCOUNTS (CURRENT)	TOWARD JOURNALS' DEFICIT	RUNNING TOTAL DEFICIT	TRAVEL FUNDS	NOTES
1877- 78	5,788.78	5,788.78	211.22	-0-	16,961.18	-0-	
1878-79	6,002.37	5,852.37	147.63	-0-	17,108.81	150.00	Graves' "salary" figure is actually a combination of the figure for salary and travel.
1879-80	6,112.37	6,000.00		12.37	17,096.44	200.00	Graves' "salary" figure is actually a combination of the figures for salary and travel.
1880-81	5,135.73	4,962.55	1,037.45	-0-	18,133.89	173.18	Graves' "salary" figure is actually a combination of the figures for salary and travel.
1881-82	6,020.90	5,852.60	847.40		18,981.29	168.30	Graves' "salary" figure is actually a combination of the figures for salary and travel.
1882-83	5,986.11	5,983.30	106.70	-0-	19,087.99	92.81	Graves' "salary" figure is actually a combination of the figures for salary and travel.
1883-84	5,345.40	5,345.40	654.60	-0-	19,742.59	-0-	
1884-85	5,872.77	5,872.77	127.23	-0-	19,869.82	-0-	The Convention acknowledged an indebtedness for salary arrearage of $11,668.20 as of May 2, 1886. There was no supporting data to justify that amount. As of the beginning of the 1874-75 fiscal year, the indebtedness was acknowledged to be $13,858.27. As of the end of the 1885-86 fiscal year, the acknowledged indebtedness was reduced to $11,668.20. During this nine year period, the total salary due was $54,000.00, yet the total paid was $52,184.08. Thus, the indebtedness actually increased by $1,815.92. The confirmation of indebtedness included notation that the figure "does not include interest." The 1873 report presented an indebtedness figure "of principal." It is clear the addition of interest was the prevailing local practice. No such arrangement was made in this case.
1185-86	6,381.30	6,000.00	-0-	381.30	19,488.52	-0-	

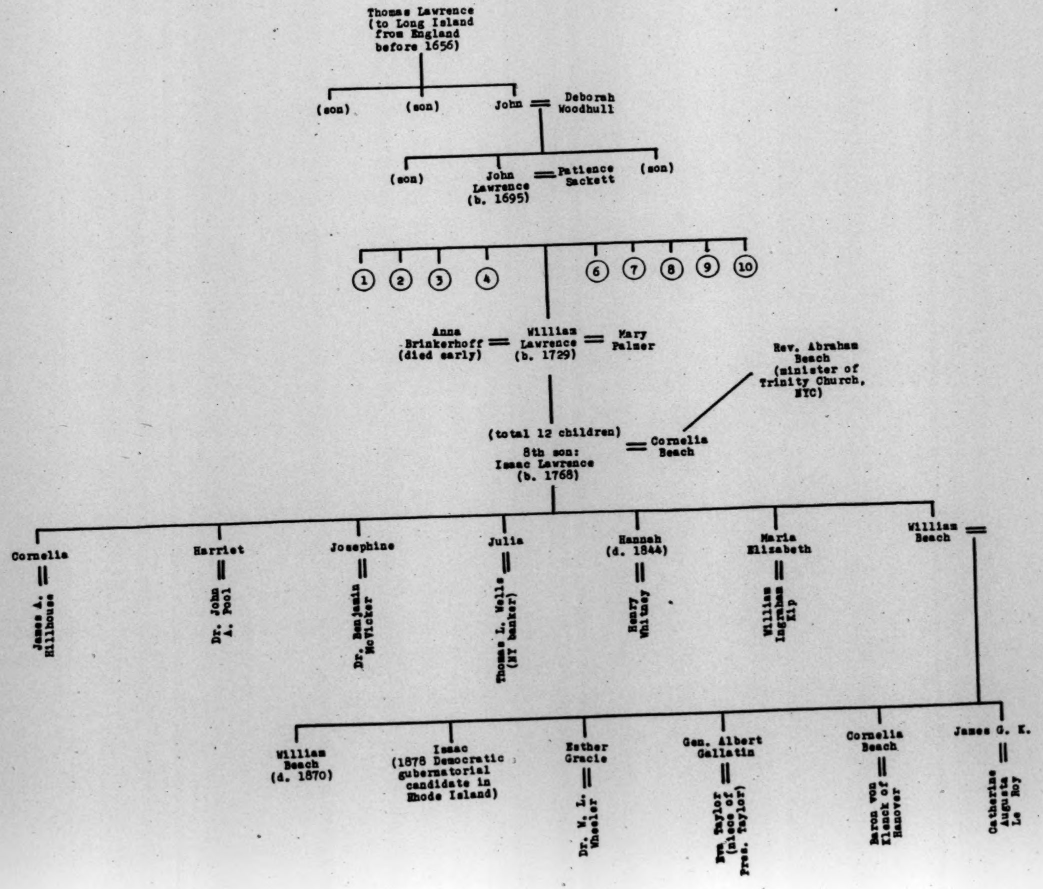
JOURNALS' REPORTS ON SALARY'

CONVENTION YEAR	GRAVES' ACCOUNT	JOURNALS ACCOUNT (CURRENT)	DEFICIT ON JOURNAL ACCOUNTS (CURRENT)	TOWARD JOURNALS' DEFICIT	RUNNING TOTAL DEFICIT	TRAVEL FUNDS	NOTES
1886-87	5,162.53	5,162.53	837.47	-0-	20,325.99	-0-	A Convention Committee suggested the debt--acknowledged as $13,858.27 at the beginning of 1885-86 and with $837.47 added in 1886-87--could be liquidated for $7,500.00. The Convention immediately secured pledges to cover the amount. The Convention resolution affirming this arrangement expressed gratitude for the Bishop's willingness "to remit a large part of the indebtedness." There is no direct evidence that the Bishop agreed. At the convention of 1887, it was reported that all pledges had been paid.
1887-88	13,951.78	6,000.00	-0-	371.78	-0-	-0-	The journal total figure is $6,371.88--ten cents more than the components' total. Graves' figure is $7,580.00 larger than the amount reported by the Treasurer. It must be the pledged amount designed to liquidate the indebtedness. If this is the case, the debt recorded here, and remitted--if it was--by the Bishop amounted to $12,374.21.
1888-89	5,889.69	5,889.69	110.31	-0-	-0-	-0-	

APPENDIX C:

Genealogical Charts


Ruloff de Kype
Henri
Jean Baptiste (priest)
Ruloff Kype
Hendrick Kype (to America, 1635- returned)
Margaret de Marneil
Hendrick (stayed in America)
Jacobus b. 1631 (stayed in America; built Kip's Bay)
Catalina de Suyers m. 1653
Isaac (stayed in America; built Kip's Bay)
Mrs. Maria Vermilye
(None)
Hendrick (b. 1654) (co-patentee of Kipsburg)
Cornelia (b. 1656)
Abraham (b. 1659)
Isaac (b. 1662)
Mrs. Henrietta Wessels
Jacobus (b. 1666) (co-patentee of Kipsburg)
Rachel Swarthout
(None)
Cornelia Lewis
Isaac (1696 - 1762)
Roeloff (of Kipsburg)
Elizabeth (b. 1721)
Leonard (1725 - 1804)
Elizabeth Marschalk
Rachel (b. 1725)
Isaac (b. 1732)
Abraham
Jacobus
Anne (b. 1764)
Isaac Lewis (b. 1767)
Leonard (1774 - 1846)
Maria Ingraham
Mary (d. May 12, 1852)
Hon. John Innes Kane (d. Dec. 21, 1851)
Sophia
Bp. George Burgess
Elizabeth
Rev. Dr. Henry L. Storrs
William Ingraham
Maria Elizabeth Lawrence
Leonard
Lawrence
William Ingraham Kip, Jr.
William Ingraham Kip, III
Lawrence


Thomas Lawrence (to Long Island from England before 1656)
(son)
(son)
John
Deborah Woodhull
(son)
John Lawrence (b. 1695)
Patience Sackett
(son)
①
②
③
④
⑥
⑦
⑧
⑨
⑩
Anna Brinkerhoff (died early)
William Lawrence (b. 1729)
Mary Palmer
Rev. Abraham Beach (minister of Trinity Church, NYC)
(total 12 children)
8th son: Isaac Lawrence (b. 1768)
Cornelia Beach
Cornelia
James A. Hillhouse
Harriet
Dr. John A. Pool
Josephine
Dr. Benjamin McVicker
Julia
Thomas L. Wells (NY banker)
Hannah (d. 1844)
Henry Whitney
Maria Elizabeth
William Ingraham Kip
William Beach
William Beach (d. 1870)
Isaac (1878 Democratic gubernatorial candidate in Rhode Island)
Esther Gracie
Dr. W. L. Wheeler
Gen. Albert Gallatin
Eva Taylor (niece of Pres. Taylor)
Cornelia Beach
Baron von Klenck of Hanover
James G. K.
Catherine Augusta Le Roy

NOTES

The Early Years

[1] William Ingraham Kip, Historical Notes of the Family Kip of Kipsburg and Kip's Bay, New York, (Albany, N.Y.), Privately printed (Joel Munsell), 1971, 30 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, Historical Notes.); William Ingraham Kip, The Olden Time in New York, N. Y., G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1872, 22 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, Olden Time.), the first version of which was published under the title "New York in the Olden Time" in Putnam's Magazine, New Series VI (September, 1870), 241-55.

[2] Kip, Historical Notes, 27-8; Edwin R. Purple, "Contributions to the History of the Ancient Families of New York. Kip.," New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, 8 (April, 1877), 68, (Hereinafter referred to as Purple, "Kip".); Maud Wilder Goodwin, Alice Carrington Royce and Ruth Putnam, editors, Historic New York, Vol. 1, N. Y. & London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899, 243-4; Kip, Olden Time, 23; Kip, Historical Notes, 31-2; Charles Hemstreet, When Old New York Was Young, N. Y., Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902, 37-38.

[3] Kip, Historical Notes, 28-32; Kip, Olden Time, 25; and letter (with undated, uncited newspaper article, "Andre's Last Dinner in New York," from William Ingraham Kip to Benson Lossing, July 23, 1850, in the New York State Library, Albany, New York. Some sources refer to the confiscation of the Kip's Bay House (for example, The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Vol. III, N. Y., James T. White & Co., 1893, 474; and, Walter Barrett (Joseph A. Scoville), The Old Merchants of New York City, Vol. V, N.Y., Thomas R. Knox & Co., 1885, 104 (Hereinafter referred to as Barrett, Old Merchants.) However, William Ingraham Kip says otherwise in both Olden Time, 22, 25, and Historical Notes, 30.

[4] Kip, Olden Time, 22.

[5] Kip, Historical Notes, 7-9, wherein it is stated that a son (Hendrick, who did not remain) and three grandsons (Hendrick, Jacobus and Isaac) were those who came to the New World. A later writer (Purple, "Kip", 67) expresses doubt on the accuracy of the immputation of relationship. For our purposes, the important fact is that the Kip family members believed themselves related to the noble and prominent Ruloff.

[6] Kip, Historical Notes, 9, says that they arrived in

1635, while the more cautious and careful Purple ("Kip", 68) merely says that early records prove they were in New Amsterdam before 1643.

[7] Kip, *Historical Notes*, 10-11. Purple ("Kip," 69 and 72) says Hendrick was the father, and Isaac his son, while Kip (*Historical Notes*, 9) says the father returned to Holland. This leaves us uncertain as to precise relationship between Hendrick and Isaac. Again, for our purposes, the significant point is that the Kip family looked back to TWO ancestors among the twenty Great Burghers.

[8] Kip, *Historical Notes*, 12; Kip, *Olden Time*, 13 and 19, citing Holgate's *Genealogies*, 28; Barrett, *Old Merchants*, 104; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. III, N.Y., James T. White & Co., 1893, 474.

[9] Kip, *Historical Notes*, 15-6; Henry Wysham Lanier, *A Century of Banking in New York, 1822-1922*; N. Y., George H. Doran Co., 1922, 116 (Hereinafter referred to as Lanier, *Century of Banking*.).

[10] Barrett, *Old Merchants*, 104; Kip, *Historical Notes*, 16-7, reprinting an uncited obituary of Leonard Kip (William Ingraham Kip's father), and attributing the action to the younger Leonard Kip. However, the younger Kip was born in 1774, and was hardly of an age to enter suit--over the head of his father--as the aggrieved party and have standing in court. So, while the events are likely correct, the imputation should be to the elder Leonard Kip, the grandfather of William Ingraham Kip.

[11] Henry Phelps Johnson, "New-York City Under American Control--From the Confederation to the Constitution, 1783-1789," in *The Memorial History of the City of New-York*, ed., by James Grant Wilson, N.Y., New-York History Co., 1893, 21. The junior Leonard is mentioned as being in this business in Lanier, *Century of Banking*, 116.

[12] Lanier, *Century of Banking*, 116; Kip, *Historical Notes*, 17, reprinting an uncited obituary which says he held the office until about 1841; and Barrett, *Old Merchants*, 105, which says he relinquished the office in 1836.

[13] Kip, *Olden Time*, 27-8. In Edwin Vernon Morgan, "Slavery in New York," in *Half Moon Series*, Vol. II, n.p., n.d., 28, it is reported there were only 1,301 slaves in the "five counties about N. Y. City" in 1703.

[14] "Obituaries. Ingraham-Kip.," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 8 (July, 1877), 143; Kip, *Olden Time*, 53-4; Kip, *Historical Notes*, 37-8.

[15] "Obituaries. Ingraham-Kip.," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 8 (July, 1877), 143; Kip, *Olden Time*, 54; Kip, *Historical Notes*, 38.

[16] Kip, *Historical Notes*,17-8; Barrett, *Old Merchants*, 105

[17] John Austin Stevens,"New-York in the Second War of Independence, 1812-1814," in *The Memorial History of the City of New-York*, ed. by James Grant Wilson, N. Y., New-York History Co., 1893, 261.

[18] Barrett, *Old Merchants*, 105; Lanier, *Century of Banking*, 116; Kip, *Historical Notes*. 17

[19] Kip, *Olden Time*, 10.

[20] William Stevens Perry, *The Episcopate in America*, N.Y., The Christian Literature Co., 1895, 127; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese)., *Journal of the Forty-third Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 30th, 31st and June 1st, 1893*, San Francisco, W. A. Woodward & Co., 1893, 176 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal . . . 1893*.); "The Right Rev. W. I. Kip," *Illustrated London News*, October 30, 1858, 399.

[21] "Obituaries, Kip.," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 25 (October, 1893), 197; Thomas M. Clark, *Reminiscences*, N. Y., Thomas Whitaker, 1895, 14.

[22] "Death of the Aged Bishop," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 7, 1893 (Hereinafter referred to as "Death", *S.F. Examiner*.). Numerous other sources make passing mention of the legal studies.

[23] Hermon Griswold Batterson, *A Sketchbook of the American Episcopate*, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1878, 176.

[24] William Ingraham Kip, *The Catacombs of Rome*, 6th ed., N. Y., E & J. B. Young & Co., 1887 (5) (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *Catacombs*.). The original dedication is dated Advent, 1853.

[25] William Ingraham Kip, *The Church of the Apostles*, N. Y., D. Appleton & Co., 1877, (3) (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *Apostles*.).

[26] The Kip side of the business is reflected in letters of Leonard Kip to John Vanderlyn dated February 5 (in which the son's interest is mentioned; and, because William Ingraham subsequently received the painting as a gift of Leonard, Sr., and William Ingraham subsequently published data on Vanderlyn, it is assumed that he--not his brother Leonard, Jr.--is the son to whom reference is made), March 25, and March 31, 1834 in the collection of the Senate House Museum, Kingston, New York. The Painting is presently owned by the M. H. deYoung Museum of

Art, San Francisco, California. The Registrar's file contains information that "Marius" was painted in 1806, awarded a gold medal by Napoleon in 1808, exhibited in New Orleans in 1821 and San Francisco in 1872 and sold by William Ingraham Kip to Mrs. Edward Searles about 1888.

[27] Benjamin T. Onderdonk, "Annual Report," in Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese)., _Journal of the Convention of the Diocese of New York_, 1835, N.Y., for the convention, 26-7.

[28] Edward Lambe Parsons, "Kip, William Ingraham," in Dumas Malone, ed., _Dictionary of American Biography_, Vol. X, N.Y., Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933, 422, letter of March 15, 1971 from Judith A. Schiff, Research Assistant, Yale University Library to the author, citing the _Yale Obituary Record_, 149.

[29] Kip, _Historical Notes_, 60-1. Originally this was published as an article in the _New York Genealogical and Biographical Record_, 2 (July, 1871). A short time later a debate arose concerning the accuracy of the attribution of relationship between the Colonial and English Lawrences, but the prominence of the American Lawrences was not questioned. Those articles as appeared inthe _New York Genealogical and Biographical Record_ as follows: 3 (January, 1872), 26-9; 3 (July, 1872), 121-31; 3 (October, 1872), 178-83.

[30] George D. DeMille, _St. Thomas Church in the City and County of New York, 1823-1954_, Austin, Texas, Church Historical Society, 1958, 8, 6 and 178. DeMille says it appears St. Thomas Church was organized for the particular purpose of proliferating and entrenching the High Church wing of the Church in New York.

[31] Lanier, _Century of Banking_, 117.

[32] J. Elliott Lindsley, _A History of Saint Peter's Church, Morristown, New Jersey_, n.p., n.p., 1952, 26-7

[33] William Stevens Perry, _The Episcopate in America_, N. Y., The Christian Literature Co., 1895, 127. Some sources report the wrong date of October 24 (for example, _Lamb's Biographical Dictionary_--see Note 27, above). However, the October 20 date is confirmed by the proposal and expressed calendar limitations in a letter from George Washington Doane to William Ingraham Kip, dated October 5, 1835 in the Muir Collection of the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin,

Texas.

[34] Letter from Benjamin Minifie, Rector, Grace Church in New York, to the author, dated April 23, 1971.

NOTES

Albany: The Years of Struggle

[1] A good, detailed picture of aspects of the diversity and turmoil of Albany during the period can be gleaned from: David M. Ellis, et al., A History of New York State, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1967. Probably the best detailed coverage of the "burned-over district" is found in: Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District, N.Y., Harper & Row, 1965.

[2] Joel Munsell, The Annals of Albany, Vol. III, Second ed., Albany, Joel Munsell, 1871, 338 (Hereinafter referred to as Munsell, Annals.); Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese)., Journal of the Proceedings of the Fifty-second Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York. . . (October 5, 6, and 7) A.D., 1837, N.Y., Protestant Episcopal Press, 1837, 61 (Hereinafter referred to as New York, Journal . . . 1837.).

[3] Munsell, Annals, 338.

[4] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to (William Bacon) Stevens, August 10, 1837 in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, New York.

[5] New York, Journal . . . 1837, 46. Such a Visitation required final preparation in readying parish records for examination, confirmands for possible examination, and social and liturgical reception of the Bishop; it was an experience to be "endured".

[6] Letter from Alonzo Potter to William Ingraham Kip, September 12, 1837 in the Hillhouse Family Collection of the Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

[7] New York, Journal . . . 1837, 8, 14, 61

[8] Ibid., 23.

[9] Letter from D(aniel) D. Barnard to William Ingraham Kip, November 16, 1837 in the Hillhouse Family Collection of the Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

[10] James Grant Wilson, ed., *The Centennial History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York, 1785 - 1885*, N.Y., D. Appleton & Co., 1886, 79-80, 108.

[11] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese)., *Journal of the Proceedings of the Fifty-fourth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York . . . Thursday, October 4th, and Friday, October 5th, A. D., 1838*, N.Y., Stationers' Hall Press, 1838, 9. 14, 68.

[12] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to James A. Hillhouse December 26, 1838 in the Hillhouse Family Collection of the Manuscript and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

[13] Munsell, *Annals*, 338-9; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, New York (Diocese)., *Journal of the Proceedings of the Fifty-Fifth Convention of the Diocese of New York . . . Thursday, October 3d, and Friday, Oct. 4th, A. D., 1839*, N.Y., Printed for the Convention, 1839, 67. (Hereinafter referred to as New York, *Journal . . . 1839*.)

[14] Munsell, *Annals*, 339.

[15] New York, *Journal . . . 1839*, 67

[16] Munsell, *Annals*, 340.

[17] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Mr. Sherman, October 29, 1839 in the Collection of Correspondence of Protestant Episcopal Bishops, 1785-1904, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[18] The consecration date is variously reported. In a letter from Benjamin T. Onderdonk to William Ingraham Kip, January 23, 1840 in the Hillhouse Family Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, February 14 is proposed. Meanwhile it is reported as February 22 In Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese) ., *Journal of the Proceedings of the Fifty-sixth Convention of the Diocese of New York . . . Wednesday, Sept. 30, Thursday, Oct. 1, and Friday, Oct. 2. A.D., 1840*, N.Y., Church Depository, 1840, 27 (Hereinafter referred to as New York, *Journal . . . 1840*.). The latter is confirmed on the back of the title page of William Wingraham Kip, *The Manifestation of the Truth*, Albany, Joel Munsell, 1840 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *Manifestation*.).

[19] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to T. N. Stanford, April 9, 1852, in the Collection of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, Domestic Secretaries' Papers, Letters Received, Period A, 1835-1861, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

[20] New York, *Journal* . . . *1840*, 33.

[21] Munsell, *Annals*, 339.

[22] New York, *Journal* . . . *1840*, 38, 69, 131.

[23] Kip, *Manifestation*.

[24] William Ingraham Kip, *Our National Sins*, Albany, Joel Munsell, 1840 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *National Sins*.)

[25] Letter from Marguerite Mulleneaux, Librarian-in-charge, The Albany Room, Albany Public Library, September 17, 1971 to the author; National Archives and Records Service, Record Group 29, 1840 Census, New York State, Albany County, p.250.

[26] New York, *Journal* . . . *1840*, 13,63.

[27] Munsell, *Annals*, 340.

[28] Vestry Minutes, St. Paul's Church in the City of Albany, New York, entry for September 17, 1841, 5.

[29] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese)., *Journal of the Proceedings of the Fifty-seventh Convention of the Diocese of New York (September 29 through October 1)*. . . *A.D. 1841*, N.Y., Church Depository, 1841, 88.

[30] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Samuel Seabury, April 28, 1842 in the Samuel Seabury Collection, St. Mark's Library, The General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, New York, New York.

[31] A good, standard summary treatment of William Laud is contained in George Macaulay Trevelyan, *History of England*, Vol. II, Garden City, Doubleday Anchor Books, 1952, 168-71.

[32] This is strongly implied in the Kip-Seabury correspondence on the article. It is explicit, though incidental in Edward Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church*, N. Y., Scribner's Sons, 1946 (Hereinafter referred to as Chorley, *Men and Movements*.).

[33] William Ingraham Kip, *Life and Character of Archbishop Laud*, N.Y., n.p., 1842, 29, 4, 5, 30 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *Laud*.).

[34] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Samuel Seabury, April 18, 1842 in the Samuel Seabury Collection, St. Mark's Library, The General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, New York, New York.

[35] Kip, *Laud*, 5.

[36] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Samuel Seabury, April 28, 1842 in the Samuel Seabury Collection, St. Mark's Library, The General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, New York, New York.

[37] Letter, William Ingraham Kip to George Burgess, May 18, 1842 in the Betts Autograph Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

[38] Vestry Minutes, St. Paul's Church in the City of Albany, New York, entry for September 23, 1842, 17.

[39] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese)., *Journal of the Proceedings of the Fifty-eighth Convention of the Diocese of New York (September 28 through September 30) . . . A.D. 1842*, N.Y., Church Depository, 1842, 69

[40] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Samuel Seabury, April 28, 1842 in the Samuel Seabury Collection, St. Mark's Library, The General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, New York, New York.

[41] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, February 10, 1843 in the Collection of the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland; William Ingraham Kip, *The History, Object, and Proper Observance of the Holy Season of Lent*, 10th ed.,N.Y., Delisser & Proctor, 1859, xv.

[42] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Secretary of the Domestic Committee, March 20, 1843 in the Collection of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, Domestic Secretaries' Papers, Letters Received, Period A, 1835-1861, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

[43] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whitingham, June 20, 1843 in the Collection of the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[44] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese)., *Journal of the Proceedings of the Fifty-ninth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York (September 27 through September 29) . . . A.D. 1843*, N.Y., Church Depository, 1843, 63, 95.

[45] The book went through at least 25 American editions (the twenty-fifth being a posthumus edition dated 1903).

[46] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, June 20, 1843 in the Collection of the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland; William Ingraham Kip, *The Double Witness of the Church*. 23rd ed., N.Y., E. P. Dutton & Co., 1884, 3-5 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *Double Witness*.).

[47] Coverage of the ordination and resulting partisan battles is found in Edward Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the Episcopal Church*, N.Y., Scribners' Sons, 1946, 207-9; George E. DeMille, *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1950, 55-58 (Hereinafter referred to as DeMille, *Catholic Movement*.).

[48] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of

America. New York (Diocese)., Journal of the Proceedings of the Fifty-ninth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York (September 27 through September 29) . . . A.D. 1843, N.Y., Church Depository, 1843, 37-8, 50-3 (Hereinafter referred to as New York, Journal . . . 1843).

[49] Ibid., 95, 183.

[50] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Samuel Seabury, May 21, 1844 in the Samuel Seabury Collection, St. Mark's Library, The General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, New York, New York

[51] Letter of Marguerite Mullenneaux, Librarian-in-charge, the Albany Room, Albany Public Library, Albany, New York, to the author, September 17, 1971.

[52] "St. Paul's Church, Stockbridge, Mass.," The Churchman, 14 (September 28, 1844), 119.

[53] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese)., Journal of the Proceedings of the Sixtieth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York (September 25 through September 27) . . . A.D. 1844, N.Y., Henry M. Onderdonk, 1844, 34-6, 38-40, 60-1 (Hereinafter referred to as New York, Journal . . . 1844.).

[54] Vestry Minutes, St. Paul's Church in the City of Albany, New York, entry for September 30, 1844, 39.

[55] New York, Journal . . . 1844, 99, 229.

[56] "Clerical Changes," The Churchman, 14 (October 12, 1844), 126.

NOTES

The European Tour

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[1] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Dr. Coleman, August 14, 1845 in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; William Ingraham Kip, *Two Pastoral Letters Addressed to the Congregation of St. Paul's Church, Albany,* Albany, E. H. Pease, 1845, 10 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *Pastoral Letters*).

[2] Under the series title "Sketches from Abroad," articles appeared in *The Evergreen* as follows: Volume 3 (1846)--July, 202-4, August, 232-5, September, 274-7, October 307-10, November, 333-5, December, 361-3; Volume 4 (1847)-January, 10-2, February, 41-4, March, 73-4, April, 109-12, May, 137-40, June, 184-6, July, 193-5, August, 236-40, September, 265-7, and October, 297-300. *The American Literary Magazine* carried "Florence-The Appenines-Bologna," 2 (March, 1848), 163-70,"Musings in Ferrara, No. 1," 3 (July, 1848), 17-22, and "Musings in Ferrara, No. 2," 3 (August, 1848), 81-92. The retrospective article was "Holy Thursday at the Austrian Court," *Overland Monthly*, (Old Series) 2 (February 1869), 164-70.

[3] William Ingraham Kip, *The Christmas Holydays in Rome*, N.Y., E. P. Dutton & Co., 1884 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *Christmas Holydays*.); and, William Ingraham Kip, *The Catacombs of Rome*, New York, E & J.B. Young, 1887 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *Catacombs*.).

[4] Kip, *Pastoral Letters*.

[5] William Ingraham Kip, ed. and trans., "Early Jesuit Missions in Lower California," *Overland Monthly*, 10 (February, 1873), 152; William Ingraham Kip, ed. and trans., *Historical Scenes from the Old Jesuit Missions*, N.Y., Anson Randolph & Co., 1875, vii; and, William Ingraham Kip, ed. and trans., *The Early Jesuit Missions in North America*, N.Y., Wiley and Putnam, 1847, x. The latter reports the *Lettres . . .* as 34 volumes, while the two former speak of 47 volumes. Such seemingly minor discrepancies are good examples

of statements which led a few of Kip's critics to question his accuracy regarding historical matters. We can only conjecture on this matter. The difference might result from particular "volumes" being composed of more than one part (i.e., several separately bound "books"). Or perhaps on a subsequent European trip, he secured additional volumes in the set.

[6] William Ingraham Kip, ed. and trans., "Jesuit Mission at Hudson's Bay, in 1694," *American Literary Magazine*, 3 (1848-9), 201-8 and 273-87; and the following in *Overland Monthly*, "Early Jesuit Missions in Lower California," 10 (February, 1873), 152- 60, "Cape Horn in 1704," 10 (April, 1873), 346-51, and "Glimpses of the Court of China," 13 (August, 1874), 105-13, and (September, 1874), 201-9.

[7] William Ingraham Kip, ed., *Recantation: or The Confessions of a Convert to Romanism: A Tale of Domestic and Religious Life in Italy*, N.Y., Stanford & Swords, 1846, iii (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *Recantation*.).

[8] Extract from a letter from Maria Kip to Cornelia A. Hillhouse, February, 1845, in the Hillhouse Family Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

[9] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Dr. Coleman, August 14, 1845 in the Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[10] William Ingraham Kip, *A Few Days at Nashotah*, Albany, Joel Munsell, 1849, 3 wherein personal observations on the Rhine River are recalled (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *Nashotah*.); and William Ingraham Kip, "The Continent in 1860", manuscript book, with the facade of a diary, a copy of which is in the possession of Col. and Mrs. Carroll E. B. Peeke, San Francisco, California, 18, 23-5 and 28 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, "The Continent in 1860").

[11] Kip, *Christmas Holydays*, 3-4; William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad, No. 3. Journey from Rome to Naples," *The Evergreen*, 3 (September, 1846), 276.

[12] Kip, *Christmas Holydays*, 4.

[13] William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad, No. 3. Journey from Rome to Naples," *The Evergreen*, 3 (September, 1846), 274.

[14] Examples are found in Kip, Christmas Holydays, 21, and William Ingraham Kip, "Naples--Its People," The Evergreen, 3 (November, 1846), 333.

[15] One good example of the lyrical quality opens Kip's description of Florence in "Florence--The Appenines--Bologna," American Literary Magazine, 2 (March, 1848), 163: "The sun was fast setting, and its beams streaming on the tops of the distant mountains bathed them in a rich purple and gold, as we left Florence. *** There was the yellow Arno, winding on its way through the city and stretching along like a golden thread through the valley, as it goes to wash the foundations of the palaces of Pisa, and unite its waters with the Mediterranean." Among authors to whom reference was made are Lord Byron and Shelley.

[16] Kip, Christmas Holydays; Kip, Catacombs; William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad. A Day in the Buried Cities," The Evergreen, 4 (February, 1847), William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad. The Museum at Naples," The Evergreen, 4 (March, 1847), 73-4.

[17] Kip, Christmas Holydays, 68-70.

[18] William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad. Florence," The Evergreen, 4 (September, 1847), 265.

[19] See especially Kip, Christmas Holydays, Chapters III, VI and XIII.

[20] William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad. Florence," The Evergreen, 4 (September, 1847), 266-7; and "Sketches from Abroad. Tuescany--Florence," 4 (June, 1847), 185-6.

[21] William Ingraham Kip, "Musings in Ferrara. No. 2," American Literary Magazine, 3 (August, 1848), 82.

[22] William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad. Florence," The Evergreen, 4 (July, 1847), 193-5 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, "Sketches," (July).).

[23] William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad, No. 1. The Mediterranean--Genoa," The Evergreen, 3 (July, 1846) 203-4.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad, II. Genoa, " *The Evergreen*, 3 (August, 1846), 232 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, "Genoa.").

[26] William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad. Departure from Naples--Leghorn--Pisa," *The Evergeeen*, 4 (May, 1847), 138.

[27] Kip, *Christmas Holydays*, Chapter III

[28] William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad, No. 6. Naples--Tomb of Virgil--Charitable Foundation--Chinese College--Carnival." *The Evergreen*, 3 (December, 1846), 363 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, "Sketches...6.").

[29] Kip, *Christmas Holydays*, 259-60.

[30] *Ibid.*, Chapter XXII, "The Papal Church."

[31] *Ibid.*, 31-3 where he similarly condemns two other lances, and six other cloth head coverings.

[32] *Ibid.*, 65.

[33] William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad, No. 4., Naples--Its Scenery, Churches, and Burial-Place," *The Ever-Green*, 3 (October, 1846), 308

[34] Kip, "Sketches...6," 362-3.

[35] William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad, No. 4. Naples--Its Scenery, Churches, and Burial-Place," *The Evergreen*, 3 (October, 1846), 309.

[36] Kip, "Sketches...6," 362; and Kip, "Sketches," (July), 194.

[37] Kip,"Genoa," 234-5.

[38] Kip, "Sketches," (July), 195.

[39] Kip, Christmas Holydays, 46-9, 84-5.

[40] Ibid., 272, 51 and 275.

[41] William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad. Departure from Naples--Leghorn--Pisa," The Evergreen, 4 (May, 1847), 138; William Ingraham Kip, "Florence--The Appenines--Bologna," American Literary Magazine, 2 (March, 1848), 167; and William Ingraham Kip, "Musings in Ferrara, No. 1," American Literary Magazine, 3 (July, 1848), 409-10.

[42] William Ingraham Kip, "Sketches from Abroad. Florence," The Evergreen, 4 (October, 1847), 298; and Kip, "Genoa", 233.

[43] Kip, "Genoa," 232.

[44] (No headline), The Churchman, August 9, 1845, 91.

[45] Kip, Pastoral Letters, 10.

NOTES

Albany: Years of Parochial Stability

[1] A thorough discussion of the issues is found in De Mille, *Catholic Movement*, 63-5. A brief, but helpful, chronology is found in William Stevens Perry, *The Episcopate in America,* N. Y., The Christian Literature Co., 1895, 55 (Hereinafter referred to as Perry, *Episcopate*.).

[2] Kip, *Pastoral Letters*, 6-7.

[3] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Sixty-first Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York (September 24 through 30) ...A.D., 1845*, New York, Henry M.Onderdonk & Co., 1845, 19, 20, 27 (hereinafter referred to as New York, *Journal* ... *1845*.).

[4] *Ibid*., 66-8, 81-8, 91-4.

[5] Robert A. West, *Records of the Proceedings and Debates at the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York*, New York, Stanford and Swords, 1845.

[6] *Report to the Vestry of St. Peter's Church, Albany, of the Lay Delegates Appointed by Them, Who Attended the Diocesan Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church Held at the City of New York, on the 23rd Day of September, 1845 and Continued to the 30th of the Same Month*, Albany, N. Y., Erastus H. Pease, 1845, 7.

[7] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Sixty-ninth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York...(September 29 to October 2) A.D., 1852*, New York, Daniel Dana, Jr., 1852, 62 (Hereinafter referred to as New York, *Journal* ... *1852*.). While a $21 contribution 1844-5 is reported at New York, *Journal* ... *1845*, 99, Convention Journals from 1846-50 corroborate the former source. The author is unable to explain the conflict. However, if payment was made, there remains a period of non-payment which basically corresponds with the period during which the Diocese had no functioning bishop of its own.

[8] As of 1846 the family was in residence at 126 State Street; it is most reasonable to assume the home was occupied after the return from Europe, but before 1846 proper. Information concerning residence was obtained from a letter of Marguerite Mulleneaux, Librarian-in-charge, the Albany Room, Albany Public Library, Albany, New York, to the author, September 17, 1971.

[9] "The Christmas Holydays in Rome," *The Churchman*, 15 (December 20, 1845), 166.

[10] "Book Table," *The Evergreen*, 3 (February, 1846), 63.

[11] "Notices of Books," *The True Catholic*, 3 (March, 1846), 520.

[12] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Sixty-second Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York (September 30 through October 3)* ... *A. D., 1846*, New York, Henry M. Onderdonk & Co., 1846, 20 (Hereinafter referred to as New York, *Journal* ... *1846*.).

[14] *The Charter and By-laws of the New-York Historical Society*, N.Y., Press of the Historical Society, 1846, 34

[15] "Connecticut-Ordination," *The Churchman*, 16 (August 15, 1846), 95; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. XI, N.Y., James T. White & Co., 1909, 439; "Trinity College," *The Churchman*, 16 (September 5, 1846), 107. Unfortunately, Trinity College has no additional details concerning this honorary degree except that it was *ad eundem* (e.g., reason for conferral, Kip's response, or remarks) according to a letter from Donald B. Engley, Librarian, Trinity College, to the author, May 7, 1971. The *ad eundem* (literally: "to the same") implies Kip held a Master's Degree or equivalent from another school, and was being admitted "to the same" by Trinity College.

[16] New York, *Journal* ... *1846*, 24-9.

[17] The report and situation are well-covered in a Kip-owned pamphlet: Evan M. Johnson, *The Communion of Saints*, Brooklyn, I. Van Anden, 1848.

[18] New York, *Journal* ... *1846*, 51, 53, 50, 55-8, 62, and 67-8.

[19] The Right Reverend William Croswell Doane in James Grant Wilson, editor, *The Centennial History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York, 1785-1835*, N.Y., D. Appleton & Co., 1886, 115.

[20] New York, *Journal* ... *1846*, 81. Though a $25 contribution was made to the Missionary Fund in 1850-1, and a $10 payment was made to the Diocesan Fund in 1851-2, the basic pattern of withholding contributions is evident, especially see: all are produced by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese)--*Journal of the Proceedings of the Sixty-third Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York (September 29 to September 30) ... A.D., 1847*, New York, Henry M. Onderdonk, 1847, 77 (Hereinafter referred to as New York, *Journal* ... *1847*.); *Journal of the Proceedings of the Sixty-fourth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York ... (September 27 to September 29) A.D., 1848,* New York, Daniel Dana, Jr., 1848, 89 (Hereinafter referred to as New York, *Journal* ... *1848*.); *Journal of the Proceedings of the Sixty-fifth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York ... (September 26 to September 28) A.D., 1849*, 88 (Hereinafter referred to as New York, *Journal* ... *1849*.); *Journal of the Proceedings of the Sixty-sixth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York ... (September 25 to September 26), A.D., 1850*, New York, Daniel Dana, Jr., 1850, 71 (Hereinafter referred to as New York, *Journal* ... *1850*.); and *Journal of the Proceedings of the Sixty-eighth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York ... (September 24 to September 26 A.D., 1851,* New York, Daniel Dana, Jr., 1851, 113, (Hereinafter referred to as New York, *Journal* ... *1851*.).

[21] Kip, *Recantation*, iii.

[22] "Book Table," *The Evergreen*, 4 (January, 1847), 31

[23] During this time Episcopal churches were supported by endowments--which often involved various limitations on the use of income and/or the style and work of the parish--and the annual rental of pews. The practice of providing free seating for all, and relying on free-will offerings, was the newly-rising "free church" system. Because the income was uncertain, this was a risky and unstable system. It generally lacked the augmentation of today's "pledges" from regular communicants.

[24] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to G. C. Verplanck, May 27, 1947, in the Verplanck Papers, New York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[25] Joel Munsell, The Annals of Albany, Vol. X, Albany, Munsell & Rowland, 1859, 432 (Hereinafter referred to as Munsell, Annals, X.).

[26] The undated autographic text--apparently ready for a printer--was found in the Bursar's safe of the General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church in 1912. At its head, the credit is "W. Ingraham Kip, M.A." so, it was delivered before Kip received an Honorary Doctorate (July 28, 1847) and after the Master's Degree was awarded (August 5, 1846). The text is now in St. Mark's Library, The General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church, New York, New York.

[27] "Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Associate Alumni of the General Theological Seminary," The Churchman, 17 (July 31, 1847), 87. In "Domestic Intelligence. New York," The Churchman 18 (July 29, 1848), 87, and "Annual Meeting of the Associate Alumni," The Churchman, 19 (July 7, 1849), 74, we read that he was re-elected to that post. Material concerning subsequent years--until his election as Missionary Bishop--has not been found.

[28] Letter from Alice H. Bonnell, Curator, The Columbian Collection, Low Library, Columbia University, to the author, March 11, 1971, in which she cites the Trustees' Minutes, and a printed order of procession including the "janitor of the college" and making no mention of Kip's place in the line of march; a similar omission is noted in a story on the event in "Domestic Intelligence," The Churchman, 17 (July 31, 1847), 87. Most definitive is an entry in the diary of Bishop Jackson Kemper recording a trip with the Kips from Milwaukee to Nashotah, Wisconsin on July 28--15 days later--which suggests the family was already travelling when the commencement occurred (the diary is in the Kemper Collection of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.)

[29] Kip, Nashotah, 3.

[30] Diary of Jackson Kemper, Vol. 109 (July 18, 1847 to June 13, 1848), entry for July 26, 1847, in the Kemper Collection of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[31] A phrase which echoes one from Kip's sermon, "The ministry in troublous times," in which he said: "The lesson of primitive self-denial must be set forth and visibly acted out..."

[32] The preceeding information concerning the life and institution at Nashotah is from: Kip, Nashotah, 4-5, 14, 17-20, 6, 23-4.

[33] William Ingraham Kip, "Excursion on the Upper Lakes. No. I. Mackinaw," The Evergreen, 4 (November, 1847), 329-31.

[34] William Ingraham Kip, "Excursion on the Upper Lakes. No. II. Sault Ste. Marie," The Evergreen, 4 (December, 1847), 363.

[35] Ibid., 364-5.

[36] Ibid., 361

37 New York, Journal...1847, 17.

[38] Alexander Burgess, Memoir of the Life of the Right Reverend George Burgess, Philadelphia, Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1869, 107-8.

[39] Letter from Maria Ingraham Kip to Sophia M. Chase, January 13, (1848), in the Alice Chase Collection of the Kenyon College Library, Gambier, Ohio.

[40] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to George Burgess (September 23, 1847), in the Archives, Diocese of Connecticut, Hartford, Connecticut.

[41] Letters from William Ingraham Kip to John Vanderlyn, January 1 and 20, 1848, in the collection of the Senate House Museum, Kingston, New York.

[42] See Note 2, Chapter 3.

[43] William Ingraham Kip, "The Catacombs of Rome," The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register, 1 (October, 1848), 434-55.

[44] This quality is implied by his gratitude to Kip for the latter's "promptness" in providing a manuscript (letter from Jonathan M. Wainwright to William Ingraham Kip, June 30, 1848 in the Hillhouse Family Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut). It seems the book appeared in but a small edition of which *few* survive; this also suggests the ephemeral nature of the *work*. The book is mentioned in "Advertisements," *The Churchman*, 18 September 30, 1848), 119, and its chapters and their authors are listed; relevant data for our purposes are: William Ingraham Kip, (Chapter 18) "Judith", in Jonathan M. Wainwright, editor, *The Women of the Bible*, New York, Appleton, 1848.

[45] New York, *Journal* ... *1848*, 15-88, and 96.

[46] Munsell, *Annals*, X, 432, 434.

[47] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, May 13, 1849 in the collection of the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[48] Munsell, *Annals*, X, 432; and New York, *Journal* ... *1849*, 61.

[49] "Local Matters," *Albany Argus*, June 8, 1849, and "Chapel of the Holy Innocents," *Albany Evening Journal*, June 8, 1849.

[50] Munsell, *Annals*, X, 434.

[51] *Ibid*, 434-5; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, August 6, 1851, in the collection of the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[52] New York, *Journal* ... *1849*, 61

[53] *Ibid*., 28, 76, and 83-4.

[54] "New Publications," *The Churchman*, 19 (November 3, 1849), 143 contains the review of the following: William B. Sprague, ed., *Women of the Old and New Testaments*, N.Y., Appleton, 1850. (Thus, the review was prepared and printed well in advance of the book's formal publication.) As with the similar earlier publication (See Note 44, above) this was issued in a

small edition of which few survive.

[55] William Ingraham Kip, The Early Conflicts of Christianity, N.Y., Appleton, 1850; the completion date is taken from the date at the end of the Preface. By this time Kip had sufficient reputation and associations in England as to publish the work simultaneously in London through Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans--without benefit of the usual sales evidence on the American market.

[56] Generally, the sections have a brief opening statement, leading to the title of the particular section, a brief statement (in the order of their original presentation) of the relationship between Christianity and the other thought systems covered thus far, a discussion of the nature and content of the system under immediate scrutiny, discussion of the conflict and the "victory". The style is so clearly that of the lecture as to raise questions as to where this series may have been delivered before publication. Yet there is no evidence that these "lectures" were publicly delivered, much less an indication of a specific presentation situation.

[57] "Notices of Books," The True Catholic, 7 (March, 1850), 515.

[58] (M. Van Renselaer), "Kip's Early Conflicts of Christianity," The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register, 3 (July, 1850), 197 and 205.

[59] "Short Reviews and Notices of Books," Methodist Quarterly Review, 32 (April, 1850), 331.

[60] "Literary Notices," The New Englander, 8 (May, 1850), 317 and 319.

[61] From the Christian Watchman and Reflector, and cited and summarized in a letter with opening and closure deleted, as "Baptist Criticism," The Churchman, 20 (June 8, 1850), 58.

[62] DeMille, Catholic Movement, 90-1.

[63] This is not the same Order of the Holy Cross which was founded in New York in 1884 by the Reverend James Huntington, and continues to this day.

[64] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Francis L. Hawks, February 11, 1850 in the Francis L. Hawks Papers, New York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[65] The content of this undated note is intimately related to the item referred to in Note 64 above. The latter is Item 62, while this is Item 63. Further, it appears that the dated item was designed for discreet display, and the undated item adds data of follow-up nature, and is for personal purposes only.

[66] DeMille, Catholic Movement, 91-2.

[67] Letter from Marguerite Mullenneaux, Librarian-in-charge, the Albany Room, Albany Public Library, Albany, New York to the author, September 17, 1971 referring to Albany city directories for 1846-49, reporting the Kip residence as 126 State Street; the boarding house nature of the residence is reported in a letter from Maria Ingraham Kip to Sophia Chase, January 13, (1848), in the Alice Chase Collection, Kenyon College Library, Gambier, Ohio.

[68] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, May 13, 1849, in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[69] Private letter from William Ingraham Kip to Francis L. Hawks, (February 11, 1850), in the Francis L. Hawks Papers, New York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[70] At 5 Clinton Square according to a letter from Marguerite Mullenneaux, Librarian-in-charge, the Albany Room, Albany Public Library, Albany, New York, to the author, September 17, 1971.

[71] Census, Free Inhabitants, Ward 6, City of Albany, County of Albany, State of New York, Enumerated on the 15th of August, 1850 by Archibald Young, p.352, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., Record Group 29, Microfilm Roll 472. There is no known explanation for the omission of son William. Both servants were 25 years old; An (sic) Fitspatrick was literate, Cathern (sic) Fagin was not.

[72] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese), Journal of the Proceedings of the Sixty-seventh Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York ... (November 27 to November 29), A.D. 1850, New York, Daniel Dana, Jr., 1850, 25, 28, and 30 (Hereinafter referred to as New York, Journal ... 1850.).

[73] "The Episcopal Convention," Albany State Register, December 3, 1850, 2.

[74] New York, Journal ... 1850, 27-28, 36-42, 45-46.

[75] "Summary of Home Intelligence: The Protestant Episcopal Historical Society," The Church Review, 3 (January, 1851), 637-8. There is evidence of repeated re-election as late as October, 1853 (See "Summary of Home Intelligence: Protestant Episcopal Historical Society," The Church Review, 6 (January,

[76] Letter from Jackson Kemper to William Rollinson Whittingham, February 8, 1951 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[77] Letter from William Ingtaham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, February 11, 1851 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland; and, letter from William Rollinson Whittingham to William Ingraham Kip, February 15, 1851 excerpted and reprinted in William Francis Brand, Life of William Rollinson Whittingham, Vol. I, New York, E & J. E. Young & Co., 1883, 469.

[78] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson, Whittingham, March 12, 1851 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[79] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, August 6, 1851 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[80] New York, Journal ... 1851, 84-90, 96-8, and 105-9.

[81] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Thomas N. Stanford, April 7, 1852 in the Domestic Secretaries' Papers, Letters Received, Period A, 1835-1861, Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

[82] When the episcopacy is vacant, the Standing Committee of an American diocese exercises the power, though not the liturgical functions, of the bishop. As a result, they would be charged with establishing an ecclesiastical court, should one be needed.

[83] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Thomas N. Stanford, April 9, 1852 in the Domestic Secretaries' Papers, Letters Received, Period A, 1835-1861, Domestic and Foreign

Missionary Society, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

[84] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, June 20, 1843 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland. Elements of this are also contained in William Ingraham Kip, ed., The Kindred Dead, Albany, Joel Munsell, 1850, 3-4.

[85] Ibid., 5-6.

[86] Ibid., 7-21.

[87] New York, Journal ... 1852, 51-2, 70-1, 74, 76, 96-8.

[88] "Convention of the Diocese of New York," The Churchman, 22 (October 9, 1852), 130. The "other candidate" whose support Kip urged is not named, but the results of the next ballot suggest it was Jonathan M. Wainwright.

[89] New York, Journal ... 1852, 98-9, 120.

[90] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to R. Gosman, October 4, 1852 in the John Vanderlyn Miscellaneous Manuscripts, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[91] Letter from Kenneth H. MacFarland, Librarian, Albany Institute of History and Art, to the author, April 23, 1971. Mr. MacFarland notes that Kip never contributed to the Institute's publications. Nor do the Institute's collections contain any material by, or about, William Ingraham Kip. The latter is particularly curious in view of the fact that his brother Leonard was a long-time President of the Institute.

[92] See "The Second Nonnes Tale."

[93] William Ingraham Kip, "St. Cecilia," in J. A. Spencer, ed., The Women of Early Christianity, New York, Appleton, 1852, 15.

[94] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, August 6, 1851 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[95] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Thomas N. Stanford, April 9, 1852, in the Domestic Secretaries' Papers, Letters Received, Period A, 1835-1861, Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

[96] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Seventieth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York ... (September 28 to September 30) A.D. 1853*, New York, Daniel Dana, Jr., 1854 102 (Hereinafter referred to as New York, *Journal* ... *1853.*).

[97] DeMille, *Catholic Movement*, 88-9.

[98] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, August 26, 1853 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[99] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, September 19, 1853 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[100] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, August 6, 1851 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[101] William Ingraham Kip, *Early Days of My Episcopate*, Oakland, California, Biobooks, 1854, 1 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *Early Days*.).

[102] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, August 26, 1853 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[103] Franklin Tuthill, *The History of California*, *San Francisco*, H. H. Bancroft & Co., 1866, 224-30 (Hereinafter referred to as Tuthill, *California*.); Irving Stone, *Men to Match My Mountains*, Garden City, Doubleday & Co., 1856, 108-16; and James Knox Polk, "Fourth Annual Message," reprinted in James D. Richardson, editor, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902*, Vol. 4, n.p., Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1903, 636-7.

[104] His name was usually Anglicized to "John," and appears in the Anglicized form on most clergy lists, etc.

[105] J(ean) L(eonard) Ver Mehr, *Checkered Life: In the Old and New World*, San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1877, 322-3, 360, 318 (Hereinafter referred to as Ver Mehr, *Life.*); "California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 13 (December, 1848), 400-1; and, "Appointments," *Ibid.*, 403. Ver Mehr's

written recollections date the appointment in November, and the encounter with Mines the following January. However, these minor discrepancies aside, the point is that Mines and Ver Mehr both sought the appointment.

[106] Ver Mehr, Life, 317.

[107] A good description of this dimension of San Francisco history over an extended time is found in Herbert Asbury, The Barbary Coast, Sausalito, California, (Comstock Editions) Ballantine Books, 1973.

[108] "California," The Spirit of Missions, 13 (December, 1848), 400-1; "Missions in California and Oregon," The Spirit of Missions, 14 (March, 1849), 74-5; Ver Mehr, Life, 339-41; and Douglas O. Kelley, History of the Diocese of California From 1849 to 1914, San Francisco, Bureau of Information and Supply (of the Diocese of California), (1915), 7-8 (Hereinafter referred to as Kelley, California.). It must be noted that most of the data on the Episcopal Church in San Francisco and the Diocese of California must be gleaned from printed sources. The Diocesan records and many early parish records were destroyed in the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906. While seeking data in the collections of the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas, several members of the archival staff reported that all California-related manuscripts are missing from their files. Because only California-related items appear to be absent from otherwise whole bodies of documents, they conjecture that prior to the rather recent date when custody was lodged in the Society, a single researcher gathered all materials necessary for a detailed Diocesan history. Thus, this study suffers under a dual handicap as regards access to manuscript data.

[109] "Proceedings of the Board of Missions," The Spirit of Missions, 15 (July, 1850), 209; and, "Fifteenth Annual Report of the Domestic Committee," The Spirit of Missions, 15 (August, 1850), 234.

[110] Ver Mehr, Life, 363-4; and, Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), Reprint of the Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of 1850, New York, Pudney and Russell, 1858, 4.

[111] Ibid., 11.

[112] Ver Mehr, Life, 364.

[113] Circular letter from Horatio Southgate to John P. K. Henshaw, Bishop of Rhode Island, Thomas Church Brownell, Presiding Bishop and Bishop of Connecticut, and William Rollinson Whittingham, Bishop of Maryland, August 23, 1850, in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[114] Ver Mehr, Life, 363

[115] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to unknown, December 28, 1877 in the Archives, Diocese of Connecticut, Hartford, Connecticut and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to R. Colburn, February 15, 1879 in the Hale-Mull Collection, Box 22, Pennsylvania Historical Collections, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.

[116] Flavel S. Mines, "Diocese of California," The Churchman, 20 (October 5, 1850), 127-8.

[117] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, California (Diocese), (Reprint of the) Journal of the Proceedings of the Second Tri-ennial Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in California, May, 1853, N.Y., Pudney & Russell, Printers, 1858, 115 (Hereinafter referred to as California, Journal ... 1853.).

[118] Letter from John (sic) L. Ver Mehr, et al., to the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, reprinted in Proceedings of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Church ... on the 6th of October, 1853, N.Y., n.p.,1853.

[119] New York, Journal ... 1853, 41, 44.

[120] Ibid., 76.

[121] Ibid., 111.

[122] The refusal to seat the delegates was based on the fact that the Constitution of the Diocese of California contained no clause adhering to the Constitution and Canons of the Episcopal Church. However, there was no doubt that this was a pretext. A leading church journal said: "Providentially, the noncompliance...rendered it possible to refuse her (California) admission." (See: "Church Affairs", The True Catholic, New Series 1 (November 1, 1853), 333.) This points to a desire to reject California.

[123] Kip, Early Days, 2; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to Jackson Kemper, December 2, 1853 in the Kemper Papers, Division of Archives and Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[124] George Burgess, The Gospel in its First Progress Westward, Albany, Joel Munsell, 1853, 18, 6.

[125] "Summary of Home Intelligence: Consecration of the Missionary Bishop to California. Bishop Kip," The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register, 6 (January, 1854), 624-5; "Consecration of Bishop Kip," The Church Journal, 1 (November 3, 1853) 313; and Kip, Early Days, 3-5.

[126] *Albany Evening Journal*, October 24, 1853, 1.

[127] Letters from William Ingraham Kip to Thomas N. Stanford, November 28, and December 1, 1853 in the Domestic Secretaries' Papers, Letters Received, Period A, 1835-1861, Domestic and Foreign Mission Society, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

[128] Vestry Minutes, St. Paul's Church in the City of Albany, New York, entry for December 13, 1853, 101.

[129] "New York," *The Church Journal*, 1 (December 22, 1853), 370; and, "The Church at Home," *The Churchman*, 23 (December 24, 1853), 171. One diaconal ordinand was James W. Capen, a California dimitted to New York in the absence of a Bishop in California. (See: Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese). *Journal of the Proceedings of the Third Triennial Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California, May, 1856*, San Francisco, Whitton, Towne & Co., 1856, 8-9.)

[130] "Farewell to Bishop Kip," *The Church Journal*, 1 (December 22, 1853), 369.

[131] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, August 26, 1853 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland; and Kip, *Catacombs*, 6.

[132] "Book Table," *The Churchman's Monthly Magazine*, 1 (June, 1854), 379.

[133] (W. S. Southgate), "The Church in the Catacombs," *The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register*, 8 (April, 1855), 109. In a footnote, Southgate points out that Kip inaccurately attributed one quotation; again the matter of accuracy was raised.

NOTES

Chapter 5

Journey to California

[1] (John Henry Hobart), "The Late General Convention," The Church Review, 6 (January, 1854), 580

[2] California, Journal ... 1853, 8.

[3] Ver Mehr, Life, 362.

[4] California, Journal ... 1853, 10.

[5] The letter Dr. Ver Mehr wrote to an Orthodox priest was two years afterward. By that time, the idea was no longer under serious consideration. (See: "Annals of Grace Church," Pacific Churchman, November 21, 1872, 1.)

[6] California, Journal ... 1853, 15, 17 and 19.

[7] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Journal of the ... General Convention ... 1853, Philadelphia, King & Baird, 1854, 27 (Hereinafter referred to as General Convention ... 1853.); "Summary of Home Intelligence: Missions of the Church," The Church Review, 6 (January, 1854), 628; and, letter to the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America from John (sic) L. Ver Mehr, et al., August 29, 1853, reprinted in Proceedings of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America at the Eighteenth Annual and Sixth Triennial Meeting. October 6, 1853, 386-7 (Hereinafter referred to as Ver Mehr, letter, August 29, 1853.).

[8] General Convention ... 1853, 30-1, 37, 57-8, 170, 187, and 194

[9] Kip, Early Days, 5-6.

[10] Vehr Mehr, letter, August 29, 1853.

[11] These insights and interpretations appear in two works by Leonard Kip: *California Sketches*, Albany, Erastus H. Pease & Co., 1850, and *The Volcano Diggings*, New York, J. S. Redfield, 1851. The latter is a romantic novelette which focuses on the nature of justice in a Mother Lode town in which the residents permit no lawyers to function.

[12] Kip, *Early Days*, 19. This book is merely an edited and occasionally augmented -- version of dispatches sent shortly after the events. Thus, this reference -- also included in the original dispatch -- demonstrated that Kip was familiar with the contents of *Two Years Before the Mast* before his arrival in California. The original dispatches regarding the pre-San Francisco period appeared in The Churchman as follows: 23(1853-4), January 20, 1854, 186, February 11, 1854, 198; 24 (1854-5), March 11, 1854, 13 March 18, 1854, 18, March 25, 1854, 26, April 1, 1854, 34, April 15, 1854, 53, and April 22, 1854, 58.

[13] It has been possible to identify and locate one publication for which Kip "handled the literary department." We therefore know what he read, and occasionally what he thought about these works. Often he merely summarized contents, highlighting particular points. Listed herewith are works reviewed in the Albany *Daily State Register* on the dates in parenthesis: Walter Colton, *Deck and Port*, New York, A. S. Barnes & Co., 1850, (April 9, 1850); William McCollum, *California As I Saw It*, Buffalo, George H. Derby & Co., 1850, (April 26, 1850); E. Gould Buffum, *Six Months in the Gold Mines*, Philadelphia, Lea & Blanchard, 1850, (June 4, 1850); *North American Review*, No. 148 (July, 1850), (July 12, 1850). The items in Kip's library are: Calvin Colton, *A Lecture on the Railroad to the Pacific*, New York, A. S. Barnes & Co., 1850; and, Samuel Roosevelt Johnson, *California: A Sermon*, New York, Stanford & Swords, 1849.

[14] Ver Mehr, *Life*, 358.

[15] The property for Trinity Church was owned before Grace Church bought a nearby lot. Grace built its second building on the same lot, making clear the intention to remain nearby.

[16] Kip, *Early Days*, 49; letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, July 8, 1863, in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland, in which he affirmed "Cala you remember, started independent"; and, "Annals of Grace Church," *Pacific Churchman*, November 21, 1872, 1, which said, "It was contemplated at the first convention to make an independent church...with an independent

general convention, and to secure the apostolic succession, if no other way, from the Greek Church," Though he disagreed with other points and parts of these "Annals", Dr. Ver Mehr made no correction on this issue.

[17] "Consecration of Bishop Kip", The Church Journal, 1 (November 3, 1953), 313.

[18] We have considered the 1853 meetings of the Board of Missions at the General Convention. The situation was the same at the October 7, 1852 meeting of the Board of Missions. (See "Summary of Home Intelligence: General Board of Missions," The Church Review, 6 (April, 1853), 150.)

[19] Ver Mehr, letter, August 29, 1853.

[20] Proceedings of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America at their Seventeenth Annual Meeting ... the 5th of October, 1852, New York, Daniel Dana, Jr., 1852, 8.

[21] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Jackson Kemper, December 2, 1853 in the Kemper Papers, Division of Archives and Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[22] Flavel Mines, "Diocese of California," The Churchman, 20 (October 5, 1850), 127.

[23] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, September 19, 1853 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[24] His comments were summarized and quoted in "Farewell to Bishop Kip," The Church Journal, 1 (December 22, 1853), 369.

[25] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese)., Journal of the Forty-third Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 30th, 31st and June 1st, 1893. San Francisco, W. A. Woodward & Co., 1893, 181 (Hereinafter referred to as California, Journal ... 1893.).

[26] The most obvious example of this belief is a statement made in reference to the "secession" of the Diocese of California from the Episcopal Church: "It was to crush out this move that I was sent out." (Letter from William Ingraham Kip to unknown, December 28, 1877, in the Archives, Diocese of Connecticut, Hartford, Connecticut.)

[27] William Ingraham Kip, ("The Diocese of California,") in William Stevens Perry, The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883, Vol. 2, Boston, James R. Osgood & Co., 1885, 314.

[28] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Thomas Stanford, November 28, 1853 in the Domestic Secretaries' Papers, Letters Received, Period A, 1835-1861, Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

[29] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Thomas N. Stanford, December 28, 1853, in Domestic Secretaries' Papers, Letters Received, Period A, 1835-1863, Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

[30] While a missionary stipend was provided, there was no allowance for travel or shipping expenses.

[31] Kip, Early Days, 10.

[32] Ver Mehr, Life, 338.

[33] (John Henry Hobart), "The Late General Convention," The Church Review, 6 (January, 1854), 581.

[34] His comments were summarized and quoted in "New York," The Church Journal, 1 (December 22, 1853), 370.

[35] Letter from Elizabeth Sewell to William Ingraham Kip, December 22, 1853 in the Hillhouse Family Collection, Sterling Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

[36] Material in the remainder of this chapter is a summary of that in Kip, Early Days, 5-27, unless otherwise noted.

[37] From an extended quotation in an interview with Fisher on the occasion of the Bishop's death, San Francisco Morning Call, April 7, 1893, 8 (Hereinafter referred to as Fisher, Morning Call.).

[38] Helen Rocca Goss, "An Ill-Starred Voyage," California Historical Society Quarterly, 32 (1953), 351.

[39] Ibid., 352-3; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to Mary Hillhouse, February 10, 1854, in the Hillhouse Family Collection, Sterling Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

[40] Fisher, *Morning Call*.

[41] *(Reprint of the) Journal of an Adjourned Meeting of the Second Triennial Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California, May, 1854*, New York, Pudney & Russell, Printers, 1858, 5 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Adjourned* ... *1854*.).

NOTES

Chapter 6

California: The First Year

[1] Kip, Early Days, 27.

[2] California, Adjourned ... 1854, 6; "Arrival of Bishop Kip (sic)," The Pacific, 3 (February 3, 1854), 2; and "First Sermon of Bishop Kipp (sic)," Daily Alta Californian, January 30, 1854, 2.

[3] "California, " The Church Journal, 2 (March 2, 1854), 33-4.

[4] T. Dwight Hunt, Diary, October 24, 1853 to May 16, 1854, 111 in the archival collection of San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California. We have no other details regarding this meeting.

[5] California, Adjourned ... 1854, 6.

[6] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Mary Hillhouse, February 10, 1854 in the Hillhouse Family Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

[7] California,"Adjourned ... 1854", 6-7.

[8] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Mary Hillhouse, February 10, 1854 in the Hillhouse Family Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. When a house was secured it was expensive. One report places the annual rent at $2,100 (See: "A Missionary Diocese--What had Been Done," The Spirit of Missions 37 (January, 1872), 6; while another reports it as $2,300 (See: "Thirtieth Anniversary," San Francisco Bulletin, October 29, 1883, 2).

[9] Ver Mehr, Life, 382-3.

[10] California, Adjourned ... 1854, 7.

[11] Jubilee, Grace Church, San Francisco, Cal., 1849-1899 n.p., n.p., n.d., (33) (This item was found in the Episcopal Church pamphlets of the California History Room of the California State Library, Sacramento, California).

[12] T. Dwight Hunt, Diary, October 24, 1853 to May 16, 1854, 149-50 in the archival collection of San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California.

[13] Parish Register, Grace Church, San Francisco, October 14, 1849 to March 3, 1869 History section, 17 (written by Ferdinand C. Ewer, Dated October 8, 1859), in the files of Grace Cathedral, San Francisco.

[14] Letter from Thomas Fielding Scott to Dr. Van Kleeck, April 11, 1854, reprinted in The Spirit of Missions, 19 (June, 1854), 205.

[15] T. Dwight Hunt, Diary, October 24, 1853 to May 16, 1854, 177 in the archival collection of San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California; and, Young Men's Christian Association, San Francisco, First Annual Report... August 7, 1854, San Francisco, Whitton, Towne & Co., 1854, 9, 16, 18 and 32.

[16] Clearly written as a single, extended piece, editorial considerations required it be printed in two portions. It appeared, therefore, as: William Ingraham Kip, "Old Romish Missions in California," The Church Journal, 2 (May 11 and 18, 1854) 115 and 122, respectively. With revisions, the article appeared as "The Old Romish Missions in California," The American Quarterly Church Review, 21 (July, 1869), 253-67 The later version was augmented by the recounting of an 1854 visit to the Mission at Monterey.

[17] Letter from Thomas Fielding Scott to Dr. Van Kleeck, April 11, 1854, reprinted in The Spirit of Missions, 19 (June, 1854), 205-6; William Ingraham Kip, "California Mission," The Spirit of Missions, 19 (June, 1854), 207-8; and, "California," The Church Journal, 2 (May, 1854), 130.

[18] William Ingraham Kip, "California Mission," The Spirit of Missions, 19 (June, 1854), 208.

[19] While the text gives the departure time as 4:00 p.m., it also indicates events later the same day--after a period of travel--which place the departure in early morning hours. Likely we have a simple printer's error here.

[20] William Ingraham Kip, "California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 19 (July, 1854), 244-8; and, California, *Adjourned* ... *1854*, 8.

[21] William Ingraham Kip, "California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 19 (July 1854), 246.

[22] California, *Adjourned* ... *1854*, 8-9 and 14.

[23] B. M. Hall, *The Fugitive Slave Law, A Sermon*, Schenectady, Riggs, *Printer. 1850, in the Kip Pamphlet* Collection, Church Divinity School of the Pacific, Berkeley, California.

[24] Reviews of the following works appeared in the Albany *Daily State Register* on the dates indicated in parenthesis: *Ichabod S. Spencer, Fugitive Slave Law*, New York, N.W. Dood, (December 27, 1850); *John Bigelow, Jamaica in 1850*, New York, G. P. Putnam, 1851 (sic) (November *5, 1850*); and, Charles Sumner, *Orations and Speeches*, Boston, Ticknor, Reed & Fields, 1850 (*December 10, 1850*).

[25] Parish Register, Grace Church, San Francisco, October 14, 1849 to March 3, 1969, History section, 17-8 (written by Ferdinand C. Ewer, dated October 8, 1859), in the files of Grace Cathedral, San Francisco; and, "Church Affairs," *The True Catholic*, New Series 2 (July, 1854)

[26] William Ingraham Kip, "Report of the (Rt.) Rev. W. Ingraham Kip, D.D., Missionary Bishop of California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 19 (December, 1854), 515 (Hereinafter *referred to as Kip*, "Report"," 1854.); and, *Journal of the Senate. State of California*. Fifth Session, Sacramento, *State Printer, 1854, 519 and 528.*

[27] Kip, "Report," 1854, 515-6.

[28] Frank Soule, *The Annals of San Frascisco*, New-York, 1855, 538; and, "*Dedication of Lone Mountain Cemetery*," *Daily Alta Californian*, May 31, 1854, 2 (the material quoted herein *is a reprint of* Bishop Kip's dedicatory address).

[29] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, California (Diocese), (Reprint of the) Journal of the Second Adjourned Meeting of the Second Triennial Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California. May, 1855, New York, Pudney & Russell, printers, 1858, 7 (Hereinafter referred to as California, Adjourned ... 1855.); Kip, "Report," 1854, 516; and, Kip, Early Days, 47.

[30] Kip, "Report," 1854, 517-8; and, California, Adjourned ... 1855, 7-8.

[31] William Ingraham Kip, "The Old Romish Missions in California," The American Quarterly Church Review, 21 (July, 1869) , 259-61.

[32] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Jackson Kemper, July 14, 1854 in the Kemper Papers, Division of Archives and Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[33] "Bishop Kip in San Francisco," The Churchman, 24 (April, 15, 1854), 53.

[34] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Alexander Wells, May 8, 1854 in the Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

[35] Letter from Orange Clark, George C. Yount, and Paul K. Hubbs to Thomas O. Larkin, April 10, 1855 reprinted in George P. Hammond, ed., The Larkin Papers, Vol. X: 1854-1858, Berkeley and Los Angeles, Published for the Bancroft Library by the University of California Press, 1964, 145.

[36] "Summary of Home Intelligence; California," The Church Review, 7 (October, 1854), 459.

[37] In 1849 Larkin offered land for a college. When the deed was presented for signature, he refused to conclude the deal because a denominational school was intended and he wanted a non-sectarian institution (See: William Warren Ferrier, Ninety Years of Education in California, Berkeley, California, Sather Gate Book Shop, 1937, 178-9). Perhaps this was a similar situation.

[38] California, Adjourned ... 1855, 8-10.

[39] Letter to the editor, The Church Journal, October 12, 1854, excerpted and reprinted in "Consecration of Grace Church, San Francisco," The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1 (September, 1932), 172-3.

[40] "Discourse by Rev. Bishop Kip," Daily Alta Californian, November 20, 1854, 2.

[41] Ferdinand C. Ewer, Diary, Volume 1, May 22nd 1826 to April 20th, 1860, 219-20, in the collection of the California Historical Society, San Francisco, California.

[42] Ver Mehr, Life, 384.

[43] Flavel S. Mines, "Diocese of California," The Churchman, 20 (October 5, 1850), 127-8.

[44] "California," The Spirit of Missions, 19 (December, 1854), 428; "Chinese in California," The Spirit of Missions, 20 (February, 1855), 38; and, California, Adjourned ... 1855, 10.

[45] California, Adjourned ... 1855, 11.

[46] Ibid., (3).

[47] California, Journal ... 1893, 183. Perhaps this is the incident in which the Bishop daily visited a young man dying of "consumption" in order "to smooth his pathway down the dark valley." (See: William Ingraham Kip, "California," The Spirit of Missions. 20 (April, 1855), 138.)

[48] "California," The Spirit of Missions, 19 (December, 1854), 427.

NOTES

Chapter 7

California: The Early Industrious Years

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[1] Aware of the curiosity value of the artifacts of Chinese culture, Kip sent G. P. Putnam "an (sic) Chinese newspaper to show at yr. next Literary Soiree...." (Letter from William Ingraham Kip to G. P. Putnam, February 15, 1855, gift of E. J. Wendell, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.)

[2] William Ingraham Kip, "The Chinese in California," The Spirit of Missions, 20 (March, 1855), 86-7 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, "Chinese in California.").

[3] Ibid., 86, 85 and 88.

[4] Tuthill, California, 357-8.

[5] Kip, "Chinese in California," 86.

[6] "Chinese in California," The Spirit of Missions, 20 (February, 1855), 38.

[7] "Chinese in California," The Spirit of Missions, 20 (November-December, 1855), 517-9 (Hereinafter referred to as "Chinese," (November-December).).

[8] California, Adjourned ... 1855, 25.

[9] Kip, "Chinese in California," 89.

[10] "Chinese," (November-December), 517-8.

[11] Kip, Early Days, 99. Because St. John's Parish, Oakland, survived, this judgment might be questioned. However, in 1856 one vestryman reported "we have had no regular service in our church," In February, 1857 there was a supply priest. In May 1857, there was no clergyman, no parish report, and no representation in the Convention. In 1858 the new Rector told of his struggle to arrange for a place of worship -- there being none when he arrived. If the parish had not died on Syle's

hands, it had certainly gone into dormancy!

[12] "Chinese," (November-December), 519-20.

[13] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Third Triennial Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California, May, 1856*, San Francisco, Whitton, Towne & Co., 1856, 12 (Hereinafter referred to as: California, *Journal* ... *1856*.).

[14] "Buddhist Idols in California," *The Church Journal*, 4 (July 3, 1856), 179.

[15] William Ingraham Kip, "Idol Worship in San Francisco," *The Spirit of Missions*, 21 (July, 1856), 344-7.

[16] William Ingraham Kip, "California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 20 (June, 1855), 245; and, California, *Adjourned* ... *1855*, 12.

[17] William Ingraham Kip, "Report of the Rt. Rev. W. Ingraham Kip, Missionary Bishop of California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 21 (November-December, 1856), 428

[18] *Ibid.*, 430-1.

[19] California, *Journal* ... *1856*, 10.

[20] William Ingraham Kip, "California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 20 (October, 1855), 431.

[21] William H. Hill, "California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 20 (September, 1855), 395.

[22] William Ingraham Kip, "California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 20 (June, 1855), 395.

[23] William Ingraham Kip, "California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 21 (February, 1856), 72; and, Kip, *Early Days*, 80-1.

[24] William Ingraham Kip, "California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 21 (February, 1856), 72-3; Kip, *Early Days*, 81-2; and Edward Davis Townsend, *The California Diary of General E. D. Townsend*, (Los Angeles), W. Ritchie Press, (1970), 96-101 (Hereinafter referred to as Townsend, *Diary*.).

[25] Kip, *Early Days*, 81.

[26] Townsend, Diary, 108.

[27] William Ingraham Kip, "California," The Spirit of Missions, 21 (February, 1856), 75.

[28] Townsend, Diary, 110-8; William Ingraham Kip, "Southern Part of California," The Spirit of Missions, 21 (March, 1856), 124-8 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, "Southern Part," (March).); and, Kip, Early Days, 85-8.

[29] Kip, "Southern Part," (March), 129; and, Kip, Early Days, 89.

[30] Townsend, Diary, 126-9; Kip, Early Days, 90-1; and, William Ingraham Kip, "Southern Part of California," The Spirit of Missions, 21 (April, 1856), 197-8 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, "Southern Part," (April).). The quotation is found in the latter two on pages 90 and 198, respectively.

[31] Townsend, Diary, 129-37; Kip, Early Days, 91-5; and Kip, "Southern Part," (April), 198-202. The quotations are from the latter two on pages 94 and 201, respectively.

[32] Townsend, Diary, 137, from which the first quotation comes; Kip, Early Days, 95-7, and Kip, "Southern Part," (April) 202-3, from which the other quotations come. In describing the conclusion of the journey, the latter two sources differ slightly in both anecdotal material and the amount of Kip's personal reactions included.

[33] Kip, "Southern Part," (April), 203.

[34] Among William Ingraham Kip's collection of bound pamphlets in the Library of the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, Berkeley, California, is Incidents in the Life of William Henry Harrison, The People's Candidate for the Presidency, Albany, Printed at the Sun Office, 1839. It commends Harrison for bravely facing hostile Indians. This pamphlet collection seems to be composed predominantly of items which accord with Kip's known views. There are no pamphlets which argue against the general imputation of "hostility" to the Indian.

[35] William Ingraham Kip, "Excursion on the Upper Lakes. No. I. Mackinaw," The Evergreen, 4 (November, 1847), 330-1.

[36] William Ingraham Kip, "California," The Spirit of Missions, 20 (October, 1855), 431; Kip, Early Days, 94; and, William Ingraham Kip, "Old Romish Missions in California, Cont.,"

The Church Journal, 2 (May 18, 1854), 122.

[37] William Ingraham Kip, "Excursion on the Upper Lakes. No. II. Sault Ste. Marie," *The Evergreen*, 4 (December, 1847), 363; "Dedication of Lone Mountain Cemetery", *Daily Alta Californian*, May 31, 1854, 2; William Ingraham Kip, "California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 20 (October, 1855), 431; and, Kip, "Southern Part," (April), 198.

[39] As a result of this expectation he commended *Wild West Scenes* as a means of retaining an understanding of Indians. (See Kip's review of Luke Shortfield, *Wild West Scenes*, Philadelphia, Grigg, Elliott & Co., 1849, in Albany, New York *Daily State Register*, "Literary Notices," April 30, 1850, 2.)

[40] William Ingraham Kip, "Old Romish Missions in California, Cont.," *The Church Journal*, 2 (May 18, 1854), 122; and, Kip, *Early Days*, 91.

[41] Kip, "Southern Part," (April), 198.

[42] This series of events is well depicted in the following: Tuthill, *California*, 432-44, 87-90; Herbert Asbury, *The Barbary Coast*, Sausalito, California, (Comstock Editions) Ballantine Books, 1973, 67-79; and Irving Stone, *Men to Match My Mountains*, Garden City, Doubleday & Co., 1956, 167-71.

[43] "Events of Yesterday," *Daily Alta Californian*, July 30, 1856, 2.

[44] Arthur M. Alger, "Dr. Andrew Randall," in *Memorial Biographies of the New England Historic Genealogical Society*, 1883, 72.

[45] "Events of Yesterday," *Daily Alta Californian*, July 30, 1856, 2; and Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, Vol. 37 (Popular Tribunals, Part II), San Francisco, The History Co., 1887, 497.

[46] Tuthill, *California*, 435-7, 455-8, 468-72, and 502-8.

[47] William Ingraham Kip, "Report of the Rt. Rev. W. Ingraham Kip, Missionary Bishop of California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 21 (November-December, 1856), 634.

[48] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California, May, 1857*, Sacramento, James Anthony & Co., 1857, 20-1 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Jounal* ... *1857*.).

[49] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, May 12, 1856, in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[50] William Ingraham Kip, "California Episcopal Visitation," The Spirit of Missions, 22 (January, 1857), 7-10 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, "Visitation.").

[51] William Ingraham Kip, "California," The Spirit of Missions, 20 (October 1855), 428, 430-1, and 433; and, William Ford Nichols, Days of My Age, San Francisco, Privately Printed, 1923, 118.

[52] There is a rough similarity to Paul's catalogue of travel difficulties in II Corinthians 11:23-28. In various private letters and public reports, Kip wrote of overwork, the danger of death, dangers of robbery, disordered and dangerous towns and disorderly clergy.

[53] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Journal of the ... General Convention ... 1856, Philadelphia, King and Baird, 1857, 280.

[54] California, Journal ... 1856, 19-20

[55] Kip, "Visitation," 7.

[56] California, Journal ... 1856; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese)., Journal of the Proceedings of the Special Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of California ... Feb. 5, 1857, Sacramento, James Anthony & Co., 1857, 3 (Hereinafter referred to as California, Journal ... Special ... 1857.); California, Journal ... 1857, 18.

[57] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, May 12, 1856 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[58] California, Journal ... 1856, 21, 25

[59] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Mark A. DeWolfe Howe, September 17, 1856 in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[60] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Journal of the ... General Convention ... 1856,

Philadelphia, King and Baird, 1857, 258.

[61] Ibid., 160

[62] Celebration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Consecration of the Bishop of California, San Francisco, Pacific Churchman, 1878, 6.

[63] Ibid., 5; "A Quarter Century's Episcopate," San Francisco Bulletin, October 28, 1978, 2; and, William Ingraham Kip, ("The Diocese of California,") in William Stevens Perry, The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883, Volume II, Boston, James R. Osgood & Co., 1885, 316.

[64] An article from the San Francisco Daily Globe, April 20, 1857 reprinted as "California," in The Churchman, 27 (May 13, 1857), 104.

[65] Kip, Early Days, 75. While in Early Days the Bishop circumspectly refers only to "one of the clergy," Joseph Large was the only man tried and suspended during the period, and is the sole candidate for the onerous reference.

[66] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, May 12, 1856 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[67] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Mrs. Greenhow, June 19, 1857 in the Edwin A. Dalrymple Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

[68] Letter from J. Avery Shepherd to William Ford Nichols, undated (but content and archival location require it to be dated late February or early March, 1890), in the Nichols' Letter Book, Archives, Diocese of California, San Francisco, California.

[69] "California," The Church Journal, 5 (March 25, 1857), 68.

[70] California, Journal ... Special ... 1857, 3-6, and 8.

[71] Kip, Early Days, 75.

[72] California, Journal ... 1857, 44, 18.

[73] California, Journal ... Special ... 1857, 13, 15-6; and, "California," The Church Journal, 5 (March 25, 1857), 68.

[74] Minutes, Trustees of the College of California, Volume I, 64 in the custody of the Secretary of the Board of Regents, University of California, Berkeley, California; letter from Samuel Willey to William Ingraham Kip, November 13, 1856, and letter from William Ingraham Kip to Samuel Willey, November 17, 1856 in the University of California Archives, Doe Library, University of California, Berkeley, California

[75] Samuel H. Willey, A History of the College of California, San Francisco, Samuel Carson & Co., 1887, 243.

[76] Minutes, Trustees of the College of California, Volume I, 65, 72, 74, 76, 77, 81, 83, 84, 87, 90, 91, 95, 97, 99 and 102, in the custody of the Secretary of the Board of Regents, University of California, Berkeley, California.

[77] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, May 20, 1857, in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[78] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Orange Clark, William Hill and Edmund D. Cooper, July 15, 1857, reprinted in Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese)., Journal of the Proceedings of the Eighth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California, May, 1858, San Francisco, Commercial Book and Job Steam Printing Establishment, 1858, 22-3 (Hereinafter referred to as California, Journal ... 1858.).

[79] W. H. H. (William H. Hill), "California," The Church Journal, 5 (December 16, 1857), 371.

[80] California, Journal ... 1858, 8.

[81] California, Journal ... 1857, 19-20, 26-7, 29 and 31.

[82] Henry G. Langley, compiler, The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing April, 1871, San Francisco, Henry G. Langley, Publisher, 1871, 864; and, California, Journal ... 1857, 19.

[83] California, Journal ... 1857, 44.

[84] Ferdinand C. Ewer, Diary. Volume One. From May 22nd, 1826 to April 20th, 1860, 229, 239-42, 263-5 and 276-7, (Hereinafter referred to as Ewer, Diary.); in the collection of the California Historical Society, San Francisco, California, and, California, *Journal* ... *1857*, 17.

[85] Henry G. Langley, compiler, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing April, 1879*, San Francisco, Francis, Valentine & Co., 1879, 1070; and, Henry G. Langley, compiler, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing December, 1869*, San Francisco, Henry G. Langley, Publisher, 1869, 815.

[86] *Ibid.*; and, Ewer, Diary, 279-80.

[87] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Ferdinand C. Ewer, February 16, 1859 in the William Ingraham Kip File, William Ives Rutter, Jr. Collection, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas; and, Ewer, Diary, 279-80.

[88] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to the Vestry of Grace Church, December 21, 1857 in the Protestant Episcopal Bishops' Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; and, Ewer, Diary, 277.

[89] DeMille, *Catholic Movement*, 99-102, and 173-5; and, E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church*, N. Y., Scribner's Sons, 1946, 315-22.

[90] "California," *The Church Journal*, 5 (March 25, 1857), 68; and, California, *Journal* ... *Special* ... *1857*, 7.

[91] Kip, *Early Days*, 99. The thoroughness of the arrangements is suggested by the fact that the Bishop even prepared an authorization allowing "Willie" to attend the local Episcopal Church (letter from William Ingraham Kip to an unknown College authority, May 19, 1857, in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.).

[92] Letter from unknown to William Ingraham Kip, June 18, 1857, and letter from William Ingraham Kip to Mrs. Greenhow, June 19, 1857 in the Edwin A. Dalrymple Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

[93] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Thurlow Weed, November 17, 1857 in the Thurlow Weed Collection, University of

Rochester Library, Rochester, New York.

[94] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to an unknown captain in the U. S. Army, November 19, 1857, in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[95] Kip, Early Days, 99.

[96] California, Journal ... 1858, 7.

[97] "Notes of the Week," and "California," The Churchman, 27 (May 21, 1857), 100 and 104, respectively.

[98] "Diocesan Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church," Baltimore American, May 28, 1857, 2; "Maryland," The Churchman, 27 (June 4, 1857), 113; letter from William Ingraham Kip to Mrs. Greenhow, June 19, 1857 in the Edwin A. Dalrymple Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; "The Annual Commencement," The Churchman, 27 (July 2, 1857), 146; "Main e,"The Churchman, 27 (July 23, 1857), 169; "The Church at Home," The American Church Monthly, November, 1857; "Summary of Home Intelligence: Foreign and Domestic Missions," The Church Review, 10 (January, 1858), 613 and 616; "Maryland," The Churchman, 28 (November 12, 1857), 207; letter from William Ingraham Kip to unknown, November 3, 1857 in the Charles Roberts Autograph Collection, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania; letter from William Ingraham Kip to Thurlow Weed, November 17, 1857 in the Thurlow Weed Collection, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York; and, California, Journal ... 1858, 7.

[99] "Diocesan Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church," Baltimore American, May 28, 1857, 2; and, "The Annual Commencement," The Churchman, 27 (July 2, 1857), 146.

[100] William Ingraham Kip, "Voyage to California," The Spirit of Missions, 23 (March, 1858), 111-3, 115-6; and, "Bishop Kip's Departure and Voyage," The Spirit of Missions, 23 (January, 1858), 3-4.

[101] "Memoranda," Daily Alta California, December 17, 1857, 1.

[102] G. B. Taylor, "Petaluma," The Spirit of Missions, 23 (August, 1858), 366; and, California, Journal ... 1858, 13.

[103] Benjamin Akerly, "Oakland," The Spirit of Missions, 27 (July, 1862), 203.

[104] "Episcopal Services," *The Pacific*, 7 March 18, 1858), 2. Joining Bishop Kip and four other clergy for a service in the Church of the Advent, Bishop Hills, while en route to his new See in British Columbia, was told it was the Evangelical parish in the City. (See the Diary of George Hills, Volume 5, 265-6 in the Archives, Anglican Provincial Synod of British Columbia, Library, Vancouver School of Theology, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.) It is curious that for many recent decades the Church of the Advent has been considered ritually "High Church" in an extreme fashion. As a result, it has long drawn a large number of out-of-town visitors each Sunday and Holy Day.

[105] "Church of the Advent," *The Pacific*, 7 (March 25, 1858), 2.

[106] California, *Journal* ... *1858*, 16.

[107] William Ingraham Kip, "Letter from Bishop Kip," *The Spirit of Missions*, 23 (August, 1858), 374.

[108] *Ibid.*, William Ingraham Kip, "California," *The Church Journal*, 6 (October 20, 1858), 308.

[109] An example is the situation of George B. Taylor as summarized in G. B. Taylor, "Petaluma," *The Spirit of Missions*, 23 (August, 1858), 366.

[110] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions, September 3, 1858 reprinted in "A Call from California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 23 October, 1858), 470.

[111] California, *Journal* ... *1858*, 7.

[112] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Ninth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California, May, 1859*, Sacramento, James Anthony & Co., 1859, 22 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal* ... *1859*.).

[113] *Ibid*,; William Ingraham Kip, "California," *The Church Journal*, 7 (August 3, 1859), 219; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to unknown, August 18, 1859 in the Bohlen Collection, Rare Book Library, Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, Washington, D. C.

[114] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of

America. California (Diocese), Journal of the Proceedings of the Tenth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California, May, 1860, Sacramento, James Anthony & Co., 1860, 10-11 (Hereinafter referred to as California, Journal ... 1860.); letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, August 4, 1859 in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to (Edward D. Townsend), August 10, 1859 in the Carson Collection, Rare Book Library, Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, Washington, D. C.

[115] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to the Secretary, Domestic Committee, Board of Missions, December 14, 1858, reprinted as "Narrow Escape of Bishop Kip," The Spirit of Missions, 24 (February, 1859), 61; California, Journal ... 1859,16; and, William Ingraham Kip, "California," The Church Journal, 7 (April 6, 1859), 83.

[116] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Journal of the ... General Convention ... 1859, Philadelphia, King and Baird, 1860, 317-8. The clergy list included 1 bishop, 10 priests, and 2 deacons as ecclesiastically resident in California, and 1 priest from another diocese actually resident and licensed to officiate.

[117] California, Journal ... 1859, 33-40.

[118] The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing June, 1859, San Francisco, Commercial Steam Presses, 1859, 169; Charles Caldwell Dabie, San Francisco: A Pageant, N. Y. and London, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939, 234.

[119] Diary of George Hills, Volume 5, 260-7, 275 in the Archives, Anglican Provincial Synod of British Columbia, Library, Vancouver School of Theology, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

[120] California, Journal ... 1860, 14 and 17-8.

[121] The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing July, 1860, San Francisco, Valentine and Co., 1860, 28; and, Jubilee, Grace Church, San Francisco, Cal., 1849-1899, n.p., n.p., n.d., (11) (in the Episcopal Church Pamphlets, California Section, California State Library, Sacramento, California).

[122] William Ingraham Kip, editor, The Kindred Dead, Albany

Joel Munsell, 1852, 3-4.

[123] "California - Renunciation of the Roman Catholic Church in San Francisco," The Churchman, 30 (June 21, 1860), 134, and "California," The Church Journal, 8 (May 16, 1860), 131, which both cite an article in The Pacific, the San Francisco-based Free Church weekly religious newspaper.

[124] There is no mention of Louis Rivieccio in any of the reports which relate to additions or deletions on the clergy list (Bishop's, or Standing Committee's reports). His name does not appear on the list for the May, 1860 Convention, but occurs in 1861. In 1863 his name is absent -- without explanation. (See California, Journal ... 1860,3, and 18; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), Journal of the Eleventh Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Califonria, May, 1861, Stockton, Conley & Patrick, 1861, 3, 5, 8-20, 32, and 48-54; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese) Journal of the Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 7th, A. D. 1862, San Francisco, Towne & Bacon, 1862, 3, 8, and 22-41; William Ingraham Kip, Address Before the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of California, May, 1862, San Francisco, Towne & Bacon, 1862, 14; and, Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), Journal of the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 6, A.D., 1863, San Francisco, Towne & Bacon, 1863, 3 and 27.) In his Diocesan history, Kelley notes the care and accuracy with which he prepared his "List of Clergy Canonically Resident." He says the period to 1870 was covered by a list prepared by the Reverend Benjamin Akerly, not merely from the Bishop's printed reports. This implied Akerly had a greater array of sources. However, Rivieccio's name is not on the list (See Kelley, California, 405-23.).

[125] Kip, Early Days, 105.

NOTES

Chapter 8

Turbulence Compounded

[1] California, *Journal* ... *1860*, 20 and 31; "Local Matters--Departure of the 'Golden Gate,'" San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, May 5, 1860, 3.

[2] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Eleventh Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California*, May, 1861, Stockton, Conley & Patrick, 1861, 25 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal* ... *1861*.); Samuel H. Willey, *A History of the College of California*, San Francisco, Samuel Carson & Co., 1887, 70. It is curious that he ignored a Methodist School also located in Santa Clara, though styled a "college" it was largely a preparatory school, and certainly not on a par with the Catholic School which became the University of Santa Clara. Perhaps the omission was based on the fact of inequality, and that this appeal was to support an institution of quality and stature.

[3] *Yale Obituary Record*, 149, cited in a letter to the author from Judity A. Schiff, Research Archivist, Yale University Library, March 5, 1971; California, *Journal* ... *1861*, 26.

[4] A thoughtful, polished, retrospective account of the party's travels in Great Britain was prepared by the Bishop. While copies are in the hands of his descendants, it is not now possible to secure permission to use the material.

[5] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Mr. Twing, December 4, 1854, in the Bishop Nathaniel Seymour Thomas Collection of Bishops' Letters, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas; letter from William Ingraham Kip to R. C. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Relations, Kingdom of Hawaii, January 23, 1860, in the files of the Kingdom of Hawaii Foreign Office and Executive Files, Miscellaneous Foreign, Public Archives, State of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii.

[6] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Mr. Twing, December 4, 1854 in the Bishop Nathaniel Seymour Thomas Collection of Bishops' Letters, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas; letters from William Ingraham Kip to R. C. Wyllie,

Minister of Foreign Relations, Kingdom of Hawaii, January 23, 1860, and R. C. Wyllie to William Ingraham Kip, February 27, 1860 in the Files of the Kingdom of Hawaii, Foreign Office and Executive Files, Miscellaneous Foreign, Public Archives, State of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii; and, "Mission to the Sandwich Islands," The Churchman, 30 (October 25, 1860), 284.

[7] Attribution of the anonymous article to Kip was made by the author. Numerous specific individual matters of internal evidence are consistent with this attribution. When considered in combination it is unlikely that another person could be found to whom they would apply. There is no inconsistent evidence. The article's author: 1) had access to unpublished papers of English missionaries, 2) had visited the Southern United States, 3) observed revivalism in Western New York, 4) had read private correspondence to the Bishop of London, 5) had been in the ministry for at least 25 years, 6) observed the peculiar style of setting off a subordinate clause in parentheses which included a terminal comma, and 7) used "ultra" to refer to extremist ecclesiastical partisans (in a latter article claiming the same authorship).

[8] (William Ingraham Kip), "Dr. Anderson and the English Church Mission to the Sandwich Islands," The American Quarterly Church Review, 17 (April, 1865), 57-80 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, "Dr. Anderson.").

[9] Thomas Nettleship Staley, Five Years' Church Work in the Kingdom of Hawaii, London, Oxford, and Cambridge, Rivingtons, 1868, 112-3, 13-4, 16 (Hereinafter referred to as Staley, Five Years'.).

[10] Kip, "Dr. Anderson," 57.

[11] Kip, "The Continent in 1860," 54 and 113.

[12] California, Journal ... 1861, 26; Kip, "The Continent in 1860," 94-5, 108-9 and 120.

[13] Kip, "The Continent in 1860," 37-40, 43-4, 58 and 96-7.

[14] "Ibid.," 21, 72, 76-7, and 69-70.

[15] "Ibid.," 36 and 73.

[16] Many factors indicate the intent to publish. First, the material was presented in discrete segments. It is limited to

Continental Europe, rather than being a complete diary of the entire trip. The sub-sections are numerically identified. Second, there are items of content and style unnecessary in a private or family document. A person known to the family is identified as if unknown (e.g., "My nephew, Steph. Whitney."). There is detailed discussion of, and comparison to, a Kip-owned painting which would be familiar in the family, and not in need of description. There is a formal title page with the attribution, "by Wm. Ingraham Kip, D.D." When unfavorable comments are made about living persons their names are disguised. Third, the manuscript is polished. There are none of the signs of a rough draft. Selected dates are included rather than being the day-by-day rendering of a routine diary. Excerpts from English poetry have been inserted at appropriate points in the text. Fourth, the work is obviously retrospective, rather than "of-the-moment." He wrote of a souvenir drinking glass "afterwards unfortunately broken." There were two references to later events in London. He described the reactions of a young American citizen born and raised in Paris, "As we entered the harbor of New York..." many weeks after events described on the daily entry in the "diary".

[17] Kip, "The Continent in 1860," 2, 35, 147, 141-2 and 138-9.

[18] "Ibid.," 145-9; letter from William Ingraham Kip to John Garrett, October 24, 1860, printed as an appendix to the latter's sermon on the Sunday Before Advent, and sent to the author--without further citation--by K. W. Noakes, Librarian, Pusey House, Oxford, England; and, California, Journal ... 1861, 26.

[19] Following custom, he thereafter signed initials and the name of his See. Americans, unfamiliar with this style, often fail to recognize the source of items signed "T. N. Honolulu." Thus, the Library of the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, Berkeley, California, had an autographed copy of Bishop Staley's autobiography--likely via the hands and library of Bishop Kip--without the signature being previously recognized.

[20] (Thomas Nettleship Staley), Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu, September to November, 1862, London, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1863, 1-2; Henry G. Langley, compiler, The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing October, 1863, San Francisco, Excelsior Steam Presses, 1863, 9; and, Staley, Five Years', 20.

[21] (Thomas Nettleship Staley), "The Sandwich Islands," The Church Journal, 13 (March 29, 1865), 81; and, "Conduct Towards Other Missions in Hawaii," The Church Journal, 13 (July 15,

1865), 197.

[22] William Hill, "California," *The Church Journal*, 3 (July 12, 1855), 187. Though written five and a half years earlier, it captures the quality of the population.

[23] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 4th, A.D., 1864*, San Francisco, Towne & Bacon, 1864, 27-8 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal ... 1864*.); D.D.Chapin, "Columbia," *The Spirit of Missions*, 29 (March 1864), 55-6; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, July 8, 1863, in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[24] William Ingraham Kip, *Address Before the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of California, May, 1862*, San Francisco, Towne & Bacon, 1862, 6 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *Address ... 1862*.); letter from William Ingraham Kip to R. G. Hutton, February 20, 1863, in the Simon Gratz Collection of Autographs of Churchmen and Clergymen, 1647-1921, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; California, *Journal ... 1864*, 26; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, July 8, 1863, in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[25] Ver Mehr, *Life*, 423-4; and, Jerome A. Hart, *In Our Second Century; From an Editor's Notebook*, San Francisco, Pioneer Press, 1931, 137.

[26] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, July 8, 1863, in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[27] "Report of the Domestic Committee," *The Spirit of Missions*, 28 (November-December, 1863), 277-8.

[28] Kip, *Address ... 1862*, 4.

[29] James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789 - 1931*, n.p. Archon Books, 1969, 189-99 (Hereinafter referred to as Addison, *The Episcopal Church*); Thomas V. Swearengen, *The Episcopal Church And The Slavery Controversy: A Conservative Interpretation*, Berkeley, California, unpublished M. A. Thesis, 1971.

[30] Larry George Murphy, *Equality Before the Law: The Struggle of Nineteenth Century Black Californians For Social And Political Justice*, Berkeley, California, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1973.

[31] Tuthill, *History of California*, 376-7, 576-7, 583-8 and 599; Robert Glass Cleland, edited by Glenn S. Dumke, *From Wilderness to Empire*, N. Y., Alfred Knopf, 1960, 161-2 (Hereinafter referred to as Cleland, *Empire*.); and, United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Washington, 1880-1901.

[32] California, *Journal* ... *1857*, 20-1.

[33] California, *Journal* ... *1861*, 33 and 55.

[34] California, *Journal* ... *1862*, 16-7.

[35] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, May 20, 1864, in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[36] Kip, *Address* ... *1862*, 16-7; and, Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California* ... *May 2d, A.D., 1866*, San Francisco, Edward Bosqui & Co., 1866, 39-40 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal* ... *1866*.).

[37] Letters from William Ingraham Kip to William Henry Seward, July 19, 1861, and to Edward Townsend, May 6, 1864, in the William Henry Seward Collection, University of Rochester Library, Rochester, New York.

[38] "The Loyalty of Our Bishops," *The Christian Times*, New Series 3 (February 11, 1864), 292; and, (Mary C. Innis, editor), *The Church Loyal and True: The Services of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America During the Civil War*, Brooklyn, For the Benefit of the U. S. Sanitary Commission, February 22, 1864, which prints Kip's prayer of May, 1861 (discussed above) on an unnumbered page. There is *no* indication of editorship in the book. However, in a copy of the work owned by the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, the author found a letter from Mary C. Innis to Jackson Kemper, dated March 8, 1864. It was a letter of transmittal expressing gratitude for Kemper's having sent autographic items to her for the book.

[39] Diary of George Hills, Volume 2, May 6, 1863 through June 25, 1863, 18, in the Archives, Anglican Provincial Synod of British Columbia, Library, Vancouver School of Theology, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. We examined Kip's dismal opinion of the potential of American Indians, as developed in travels through the Old Northwest, and later in California. We also considered the evolution of his view of the limited prospects of the Chinese in America. Though without benefit of substantial comment and evidence of the growth of experience and thought, we find a similar opinion of Blacks. We must note, however, that there is a consistent element of hope for the full elevation ("equality" - ?) of those peoples.

[40] Letters from William Ingraham Kip to: Ira Harris, August 18, 1862, in the Simon Gratz Collection of Autographs of Churchmen and Clergymen, 1647-1921, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Jackson Kemper, November 20, 1862, in the Kemper Papers, Division of Archives and Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Milwaukee, Wisconsin; unknown, January 8, 1864, in the Carson Collection, Rare Book Library, Washington Cathedral, Washington, D.C.; and William Rollinson Whittingham, July 8, 1863 and May 20, 1864, in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[41] Bishop Kip's former classmate at Yale College, Thomas M. Clark (The Bishop of Rhode Island) was a member of the United States Sanitary Commission, and George T. Strong, active layman and Vestryman of Trinity Parish, New York City, was the Commission Treasurer. Nonetheless, there does not appear to have been strong Episcopal support for the Commission. The person widely assigned credit for organizing the Commission was Henry W. Bellows, the noted Unitarian Minister. (See: (Katharine Prescott Wormeley), *The United States Sanitary Commission*, Boston, Little, Brown and Co. 1863.)

[42] "'Sanitary' vs. 'Christian'," *San Francisco News Letter and Pacific Mining Journal*, 14 (August 20, 1864), No. 34, 8; letter from William Ingraham Kip to George Burgess, April 21, 1863, in the Archives, Diocese of Connecticut, Hartford, Connecticut; and, Edwin A. Sherman, "Sherman Was There: The Recollections of Major Edwin A. Sherman," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 24 (1945), 278.

[43] *Report of the Ecclesiastical Trial of the Rev. Geo. B. Taylor, Upon a Presentment from the Standing Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California, For an Alleged Violation of the Canons of the Church*, San Fran-

cisco, Gazlay's Steam Print, 1861, 18 (Hereinafter referred to as Ecclesiastical Trial ... Taylor.).

[44] California, Journal ... 1861, 16.

[45] "City Items--Trial of Rev. Geo. B. Taylor, Before the Episcopal Church Authorities," Daily Alta California, February 15, 1861, 1 (Hereinafter referred to as "Trial," Daily Alta, February 15.).

[46] Ecclesiastical Trial ... Taylor, 7; California, Journal ... 1861, 16; "Trial," Daily Alta, February 15; "Episcopal Mission Sunday School Anniversary," San Francisco Evening Bulletin, February 12, 1861, 3.

[47] "City Items--The Ecclesiastical Trial," Daily Alta California, February 14, 1861, 1; and, "City Items--The Ecclesiastical Tribunal," Daily Alta California, February 16, 1861, 1.

[48] "Trial," Daily Alta, February 15; "Local Matters--Trial of the Rev. Mr. Taylor," San Francisco Evening Bulletin, February 15, 1861, 3; "City Items--The Ecclesiastical Tribunal," Daily Alta California, February 16, 1861, 1; "The Rev. Mr. Taylor's Case," San Francisco Evening Bulletin, February 16, 1861, 2; "City Intelligence--A Church Trial," San Francisco Herald, February 16, 1861, 3; and Ecclesiastical Trial ... Taylor, 18 and 7.

[49] "California," The Church Journal, 9 (April 10, 1861), 92, identified as the reprint of an article from the San Francisco Evening Bulletin, March 9, 1861.

[50] California, Journal ... 1862, 15.

[51] California, Journal ... 1861, 27-30; and Grace Parish Record of Vestry Meetings, April 23, 1855 to Feb. 7, 1867, inclusive, in the files of Grace Cathedral, storage vault, San Francisco, California (Hereinafter referred to as Grace Parish Record.).

[52] As a testimony to the high regard accorded Clarkson, he was elected Missionary Bishop of Nebraska and Dakota in 1865. Because they were held at General Conventions, such elections suggested the person elected neither represented, nor angered, any major partisan faction in the Church.

[53] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to the Vestry of Grace Church, May 24, 1861, attached to the May 27, 1861 entry

in Grace Parish Records. The latter is, of course, the principal source on which this account is based. Perry, *Episcopate*, 165.

[54] The records are specific in referring to the post of "Rector." Perhaps the Bishop's idea of his own *ex officio* status had been discarded. Perhaps the subordinate position was to be titled "Rector" for prestige reasons. Perhaps the recorder used "Rector" in error. We do not know, nor are there any hints.

[55] Likely this refusal *spared* Bishop Kip a great deal of anguish and tension. Elected and consecrated Assistant Bishop of Kentucky in 1866, Cummins resigned his post and became a founding member of the Reformed Episcopal Church, which emerged as a reaction to the increasing strength of the High Church (ritualist) elements within the Protestant Episcopal Church.

[56] Kip, *Address ... 1862*, 7; Grace Parish Record; "California," *The Church Journal*, 11 (June 10, 1863), 164; Franklin Walker, *San Francisco Literary Frontier*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1969, 196-7; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 6, A.D., 1863*, San Francisco, Towne & Bacon, 1863, 43 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal ... 1863*.); and, California, *Journal ... 1864*, 43.

[57] *Jubilee Grace Church San Francisco*, Cal. 1849-1899, n.p., n.p., n.d. (a copy of which is found among the collection of "Episcopal Church Pamphlets" in the California history collection of the California State Library, Sacramento, California), (11); "Grace Church," *Daily Alta California*, September 29, 1862, 1; California, *Journal ... 1863*, 23.

[58] "California," *The Church Journal*, 11 (June 10, 1863), 164; Diary of George Hills, Volume 2, May 6, 1863 through June 25, 1863, 11-2, in the Archives, Anglican Provincial Synod of British Columbia, Library, Vancouver School of Theology, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada

[59] In May, 1863 the printed parochial report first carried the name "Grace Cathedral." This was a matter of common usage, not a legal title reflected in corporate articles, deeds and similar papers.

[60] "California," *The Church Journal*, 11 (July 11, 1863), 187; and letter from William Ingraham Kip to unknown, January 8, 1864, in the Carson Collection, Rare Book Library, Washington

D. C.

[61] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to E. B. Walsworth, July 15, 1863, in the Walsworth Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California; Grace Parish Record; California, *Journal* ... *1864*, 43; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 3d, A.D. 1865*, San Francisco, Towne and Bacon, 1865, (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal* ... *1865*.); and, Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Assembled in General Convention, Held in St. Andrew's Church in the City of Philadelphia, From October 4 to October 24 Inclusive In the Year of Our Lord, 1865*, Boston, William A. Hall, 1865, 221 (Hereinafter referred to as *General Convention* ... *1865*.).

[62] Grace Parish Record; Mark Twain, "Important Correspondence," and "Further of Twain's Correspondence," reprint of May 6 and May 13, 1865 articles, respectively, in the San Francisco *Californian*, in Bret Harte and Mark Twain, *Sketches of the Sixties*, San Francisco, John Howell, 1926, 167-8, 177-9; and, "The Great Sanitarian Departs," *San Francisco News Letter and Pacific Mining Journal*, 14 (September 24, 1864), 39.

[63] Kip, *Address* ... *1862*, 4; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 7th, A.D., 1862*, San Francisco, Towne & Bacon, 1862, 11 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal* ... *1862*.); and, California, *Journal* ... *1863*, 12.

[64] California, *Journal* ... *1860*, 27; California, *Journal* ... 1862, 13, 17-8 (which reports $714.50 paid the Bishop), 54 (Which reports $757.25 plus $20 for travel expenses paid the Bishop); *General Convention* ... *1865*, 224 (which reports the--presumably salary and travel allowance--$777.25 figure); California, *Journal* ... *1864*, 16 and 53; and, *General Convention* ... *1865*, 224. The contradictory nature of the figures is illustrated by those for 1864-65; California, *Journal* ... *1865*, 27 reports the Bishop received $207.70 from the Diocese, while *General Convention* ... *1865*, 224 reports he received $747.61 from the Diocese.

[65] California, *Journal* ... *1864*, 12, 77 and 14; California, *Journal* ... *1865*, 28; and, *General Convention* ... *1865*, 224.

[66] Grace Parish Record.

[67] General Index, Vol. 19, entry of November 5, 1861, reference to Deed Book 143, 264-5, in the City Recorder's Office, San Francisco, California.

[68] General Index, Vol. 20, entries of April 28 and April 30, 1862, references to Deed Books 157, p. 153, and 158, p. 138-9, in the City Recorder's Office, San Francisco, California.

[69] An example of his generosity is his personal public contribution of $160 to forestall a mortgage foreclosure on St. John's Church, Marysville, California. (See, California, *Journal* ... *1862*, 38-9.)

[70] Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, California, 1862-1866. Record Group 58, National Archives and Records Service. Microfilm 756, roll 1, Division 5, Collection District 1, p. 26.

[71] "True Greatness," *San Francisco News Letter and Pacific Mining Journal*, 14 (August 27, 1864), no. 35, 8.

[72] "The Departure of Bishop Kip," *San Francisco News Letter and Pacific Mining Journal*, 14 (September 24, 1864), No. 39, 8.

[73] California, *Journal* ... *1865*, 12-3; *General Convention* ... *1865*, 222; and, "California," *The Church Journal*, 13 (February 22, 1865), 43.

[74] "Death," *S. F. Examiner*.

[75] William Ingraham Kip, *Address Delivered at a Confirmation Held in Christ Church, Cannes, Alpes, Maritimes, France, January 19th, 1865*, Brighton, Fleet and Co., 1865.

[76] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Assembled in General Convention* ... *1865*, Boston, William A. Hall, 1865, 455 (Hereinafter referred to as *General Convention* ... *1865*.); and R(obert) J(enkins) Nevin, *St. Paul's Within the Walls: An Account of the American Chapel at Rome, Italy*, New York, D. Appleton, 1878.

[77] *General Convention ... 1865*, 352; and, "Our Church in Paris," *The Church Journal*, 13 (June 28, 1865), 190.

[78] Andrew Johnson, "Proclamation of April 25, 1865," reprinted in James D. Richardson, compiler, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 1789-1902, Vol. VI, n.p. Bureau of National Literature and Art, 903, 306.

[79] William Ingraham Kip, *Address Delivered at Hombourg-Les-Baines, Germany, on the First day of June 1, 1865, being the Day Appointed by the President of the United States, as a Day of Humiliation and Prayer*, Frankfort-on-the-Main. (e. Naumann's Druckerei), 1865.

[80] "California," *The Church Journal*, 13 (September 13, 1865), 276: and, William Ingraham Kip, *Lessons of the Faith in Europe. A Sermon Delivered in Grace Cathedral, San Francisco on the Twenty-fifth Sunday After Trinity, November 26, 1865*, San Francisco, William P. Harrison, 1865.

Chapter 9

No Respite

Notes

[1] Alexander Burgess, *Memoir of the Life of the Right Reverend George Burgess*, Philadelphia, Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1869, 342.

[2] *General Convention* ... *1865*, 148, 158 and 199.

[3] *Ibid.*, 167 and 176.

[4] *Ibid.*, 182, 189, 196 and 200.

[5] *Ibid.*, 176

[6] California, *Journal* ... *1866*, 14

[7] "California," *The Christian Times* (New York), New series, 5 (November 9, 1865), 186; William Ingraham Kip, "Southern California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 31 (May, 1866), 235-6; letter from William Ingraham (to George B. Whipple), December 14, 1865, in the Diocesan Library, Diocese of Massachusetts, Boston, Massachusetts (Note: though archival attribution is to Bishop Henry Whipple, content shows it to be addressed to Henry's brother George) (Hereinafter referred to as Letter, Kip to Whipple, December 14, 1865); and California, *Journal* ... *1866*, 55.

[8] Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing September, 1867*, San Francisco, Towne, Bacon Excelsior Steam Press, 1867, 656 (Hereinafter referred to as Langley, *1867*.); and William Ingraham Kip, *Free Church and Choral Service*, San Francisco, Pioneer Press, 1866, 3 and 6-8 (Hereinafter referred to as Kip, *Free Church and Choral Service*.).

[9] Kip, *Free Church and Choral Service*, 8-15.

[10] California, *Journal* ... *1866*, 50 and 9; letter from Maria Lawrence Kip to Mrs. B. D. Wilson, March 17, (1866), in the Wilson Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California; and, (letter of December 31, 1866), *The Church Journal*, 15 (February 6, 1867), 28.

[11] "California," *The Church Journal*, 15 (July 31, 1867), 227; Langley, *1867*, 656; and, "California," *The Church Journal*, 15 (July 17, 1867) 211.

[12] "California," *The Church Journal*, 15 (September 11, 1867), 275; "California," *The Church Journal*, 15 (December 11, 1867), 403; and "From an Address of Bp. Kip, March, 1866 (sic)," *Pacific Churchman*, March, 1869, 316-7.

[13] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 1, A. D., 1867*. San Francisco, Edward Bosqui & Co., 1867, 164, 166 and 172 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal ... 1867*.); "California," *The Church Journal*, 16 (September 11, 1867), 275; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 2 (sic), A. D. 1868* (actually the text indicates it was begun on May 6), San Francisco, Edward Bosqui & Co., 1869, 249 and 256 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal ... 1868*.); "California," *The Church Journal*, 15 (December 11, 1867), 403; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California. 1870*, Stockton, Independent Office, 1870, 23, 26 and 54 (Hereinafter referred to as California *Journal ... 1870*.); Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California, 1871*, 35 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal ... 1871*.); Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-second Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California...May 1 and 2, A. D., 1872*, San Francisco, Cubery & Co., 1872, 34 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal ... 1872*.); Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America California (Diocese), *Journal of the Twenty-fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 5th and 6th, A. D., 1875*, San Francisco, Cubery & Co., 1875, 28 (Hereinafter referred to as California, Journal ... *1875*.); Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Twenty-seventh Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 2nd and 3rd, 1877*, San Francisco, Bacon & Co., n.d., 35 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal ... 1877*.); Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Twenty Ninth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 14th and 15th, 1879*, San Francisco, Bacon & Co., n.d., 20 and 24-5 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal ... 1879*.); and, "Phoenixian Institute," *Pacific Churchman*, 2 (February 20, 1868), 293.

[14] "The Church in the Sandwich Islands, *The Church Journal* 13 (November 15, 1865), 349.

[15] "Missions-Honolulu," *The Church Journal*, 14 (February 28, 1866), 50.

[16] "Missions-Sandwich Islands," *The Church Journal*, 14 (October 10, 1866), 306; and, "Missions-Hawaii," *The Church Journal*, 14 (July 25, 1866), 218.

[17] Letter, Kip to Whipple, December 14, 1865; letter from William Ingraham Kip to Editor, *Pacific Churchman*, September 21, 1866, reprinted in Staley, *Five Years'*, 110-3; and, Inq., "Non Sequitur," *The Pacific*, 15 (November 22, 1866), 2.

[18] DeMille, *Catholic Movement*, 68 and 111-3; and untitled, printed committee report dated New York, October 5, 1866, and untitled, printed bishops' circular dated Buffalo, (New York), January 10, 1867, a copy of which is in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[19] "California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 33 (February 1868), 105; and Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 7th, 8th and 9th, A. D., 1873*, San Francisco, Cubery & Co., 1873, 41.

[20] Letter from John Henry Hopkins to William Ingraham Kip, February 18, 1866, in California, *Journal ... 1866*, 59; William Ingraham Kip, "Visitation in Nevada," *The Spirit of Missions*, 33 (February, 1866), 89-95; California, *Journal ... 1868*, 252; "Visitation in Nevada No. 2," *Pacific Churchman*, 2 (October 24, 1867), 156; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, *Journal of the ... General Convention ... 1868*, N.P., for the Convention, 1868, 374 and 276; and letter from Ozi Whitaker to Benjamin B. Smith, February 4, 1869 in the File of the Secretary, House of Bishops, Box 12, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

[21] "California," *The Church Journal*, 15 (September 11, 1867), 275; "California," *The Church Journal*, 15 (December 11, 1867), 403; Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Henry B. Whipple, November 11, 1867, in the Bishop Henry B. Whipple Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota; and, "The Associate Mission of the Pacific Coast," *The Spirit of Missions*, 51 (August, 1886), 290.

[22] "The Associate Mission of the Pacific Coast," *The Spirit of Missions*, 51 (August, 1886), 290; "Diocese of California," *Pacific Churchman*, 2 (January 30, 1868, 271; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, California (Diocese), *Journal of the Nineteenth Annual Convention of the Diocese of California ... on the 5th and 6th day of May, 1869*, San Francisco, Cubery & Co., 1869, 55 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal ... 1869*,); "Trustees," *Pacific Churchman*, 3 (June 18, 1868), 5; and, "The Trustees," *Pacific Churchman*, 3 (July 16, 1868), 38.

[23] California, *Journal ... 1868*, 262; "Acknowledgements for the Associate Mission," *Pacific Churchman*, 2 (May 28, 1868), 396; William Ingraham Kip, "Letter from Bishop Kip," *The Spirit of Missions*, 33 (September, 1868), 663-5; and, letter from James Lloyd Breck to Miss S. M. Edwards, April 4, 1868, reprinted in James Lloyd Breck, (Charles Breck, compiler), *The Life of the Reverend James Lloyd Breck, D.D., Chiefly from Letters Written by Himself*, New York, E. & J.B. Young & Co., 1883, 460 (Hereinafter referred to as Breck, *Life*.).

[24] "A Parting Word," *Pacific Churchman*, 2 (April 2, 1868), 340; California, *Journal ... 1868*, 262; letter from James Lloyd Breck to Miss S. M. Edwards, June 15, 1868, reprinted in Breck, *Life*, 461; "The 'Pacific Churchman' and the Associate Mission," *Pacific Churchman*, 3 (August 20, 1868), 76; and, "Business Department," *Pacific Churchman*, 3 (September 19, 1867), 120.

[25] "California," *The Church Journal*, 15 (April 24, 1867), 115 (which merely consists of reprints of the articles from the *Alta California*, and *Pacific Churchman*); and, "California," *The Church Journal*, 15 (May 1, 1867), 124.

[26] "California," *The Church Journal*, 16 (February 5, 1868), 27; "California," *The Church Journal*, 16 (March 4, 1868), 63; and, Henry G. Langley, compiler, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing October, 1868*, San Francisco, Bacon & Co., 1868.

[27] "The Ladies' Hospital--The Rt. Rev. Wm. Ingraham Kip," *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser*, 18 (March 14, 1868), 8; "The Ladies Hospital," *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser*, 18 (March 21, 1868), 8; "Give, Give," *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser*, 18 (May 9, 1868), 5; California, *Journal ... 1869*, 41; California, *Journal ... 1870*, 30; *San Francisco Daily Examiner*, October 12, 1872, 3; and, "News Items," *Pacific Churchman*, 7 (October 17, 1872), 4.

[28] California, Journal ... 1868, 243; "Departure of the Bishop," Pacific Churchman, 2 (April 30, 1868), 365; and, "The Convention of the Diocese," Pacific Churchman, 2 (May 14, 1868), 380.

[29] William Ingraham Kip, (untitled), Pacific Churchman 3 (June 25, 1868), 12-13.

[30] "Connecticut, New Haven," The Churchman, New Series, 2 (July 11, 1868), 217; "New York," Pacific Churchman, 3 (August 20, 1868), 73; "The General Theological Seminary," The Churchman, New Series, 2 (July 4, 1868), 209; and, "The Annual Commencement," The Episcopalian, 3 (July 1, 1868), 113.

[31] "Letters from the East (No. 1)," Pacific Churchman, 3 (September 3, 1868), 92.

[32] "Letters from the East (No. 2), Pacific Churchman, 3 (September 10, 1868), 101.

[33] "Letters from the East, No. 3," Pacific Churchman, 3 (September 17, 1868), 108-9.

[34] "Letters from the East, No. 4.," Pacific Churchman, 3 (September 24, 1868), 117.

[35] As a frequent Delegate to the General Conventions of the Episcopal Church, DeKoven was widely acknowledged to be one of the most capable leaders of "the Ritualists." He wanted the Church to permit, and he personally encouraged, the use of ritual practices which had long been considered exclusive to the Roman Catholic Church. As a result, he was suspected of betraying the Protestant tenents of Anglicanism. Some feared DeKoven was trying to force a "return to Rome." He was nearly elected Bishop twice: in Wisconsin in 1866, and in Massachusetts in 1872. Twice he was elected bishop, but failed to receive the necessary consents to consecration from the Standing Committees of Dioceses around the nation: in Fond du Lac (Wisconsin) and in Illinois--both in 1875.

[36] "Letters from the East, No. 5," Pacific Churchman, 3 (October 27, 1868), 148-9.

[37] "Letters from the East, No. 6," Pacific Churchman, 3 (November 5, 1868), 167.

[38] "Letters from the East, No. 7," Pacific Churchman, 3 November 5, 1868), 164; and, "Our Ecclesiastical Position," Pacific Churchman, 2 (May 14, 1868), 380.

[39] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Journal of the ... General Convention ... 1868, N. P., for the Convention, 1868, 418-9 (Hereinafter referred to as General Convention ... 1868.).

[40] DeMille, Catholic Movement, 113-5; and, E. Clowes Chorley, Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church, New York, Scribner's Sons, 1946, 376-80 (Hereinafter referred to as Chorley, American Episcopal Church.).

[41] California, Journal ... 1869, 27 and 35.

[42] Ibid., 27-35. Note that comments on ritualism appear on only the two pages which bracket observations on the Evangelical desires. By mere volume, we can see Bishop Kip's ernest desire to provide balance; the actions on ritual would have been better known, and needed less elaboration.

[43] General Convention ... 1868, 261, 487 and v.

[44] "The Late Rev. John M. M'Vickar, D.D.," The Church Journal, 16(November 4, 1868), 344-5; and, "The Bishop's Return," Pacific Churchman, 3 (November 26, 1868), 189.

[45] California, Journal ... 1869, 14-5, 20 and 23-4.

[46] "Death," S. F. Examiner; Henry G. Langley, compiler The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing December, 1869, San Francisco, Bacon & Company, 1869, 358; and, Census of 1870, State of California, County of San Francisco, 2nd Precinct, 12th Ward, Page 877, Record Group 29, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D. C. The latter records the value of the Bishop's real estate holdings as $100,400 and that of his personal property as $12,000.

[47] California, Journal ... 1870, 21-23 and 26; and Breck, Life, 465-6.

[48] "Religious Notices," Daily Alta California, March 7, 1869, 2; and, "Religious Notices," Daily Alta California, March 28, 1869, 2.

[49] "St. James' Cross," *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser*, 19 (November 27, 1869), 8; "The Latest Eagan Swindle," *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser*, 19 (September 25, 1869), 8; "Religious Notices," *Daily Alta California*, April 25, 1869, 2; "Religious Notices," *Daily Alta California*, May 23, 1869, 2; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to A. C. Treadway, April 9, 1869, in the Hale-Mull Collection, Pennsylvania Historical Collections, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.

[50] "The Rev. Mr. Eagan--Exposed," *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser*, 19 (August 28, 1869), 10, which reprints--without comment--two autograph articles submitted by Eagan in October, 1866.

[51] "St. James' Cross," *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser*, 19 (November 27, 1869), 8; "Grand Finale," *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser*, 19 (October 23, 1869), 8; Henry G. Langley, compiler, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing April, 1871*, San Francisco, Bacon & Co., 1871, 865; and, Certificate of Deposition of Francis Dillon Eagan, July 28, 1871, in the Henry Whipple Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

[52] California, *Journal ... 1870*, 24; and, "Official Record," *Pacific Churchman*, 4 (October 7, 1869), 132.

[53] Henry G. Langley, compiler, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing December, 1869*, San Francisco, Henry G. Langley, publisher, 1869, 815; "Items," *Pacific Churchman*, 4 (January 27, 1870), 261; "Items," *Pacific Churchman*, 4 (February 17, 1870), 284; "Items," *Pacific Churchman*, 4 (February 24, 1870), 292; "Items", *Pacific Churchman*, 5 (September 22, 1870), 117; St. Alban's Episcopal Church, San Francisco, Vestry, *Address to the Churchmen of the Diocese of California from the Vestry of St. Alban's Episcopal Church*, (San Francisco), A. L. Bancroft & Co., (1871), 5-6 (Hereinafter referred to as St. Alban's, *Address ... from the Vestry*.); "City Items in Brief," *San Francisco Daily Morning Call*, May 3, 1870, 3; "Young Men's Christian Association," *Daily Alta California*, July 30, 1870; and, "Items," *Pacific Churchman*, 5 (September 8, 1870), 100.

[54] St. Alban's, *Address ... from the Vestry*, 7-8; Kelley, *California*, 345; and Henry G. Langley, compiler, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing March, 1872*, San Francisco, Bacon & Co., 1872, 873.

[55] "Items," *Pacific Churchman*, 5 (September 29, 1870), 124; "The Courts," *San Francisco Daily Examiner*, October 19, 1870, 3; "The Courts," *San Francisco Daily Examiner*, October 21, 1870, 3; and,"F. Dillon Eagan," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 22, 1870, 3.

[56] St. Alban's Address ... from the Vestry, 8 and 10-13.

[57] Ibid., 14-5; Henry G. Langley, compiler, The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing March, 1872 San Francisco, Bacon & Co., 1872, 873; "California," The Church Journal, 19 (March 8, 1871), 75; and, "Notice to Churchmen," Pacific Churchman, 6 (Januaty 26, 1871), 4.

[58] "A New Bishop for America," Daily Alta California, July 13, 1870, 1; "Items", Pacific Churchman, October 20, 1870, 148; "The Greek Bishop," Pacific Churchman, 5 (December 29, 1870) 228; "California," The Church Journal, 19 (March 8, 1871), 75; and, "Religious Notices," San Francisco Daily Examiner, January 28, 1871, 3.

[59] St. Alban's, Address ... from the Vestry, 16-7; "A Protestant Episcopal Riot," San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser, 21 (April 1, 1871), 8; "Archbishop Badger Hoodwinks Bishop Johannes," San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser, 21 (February 4, 1871), 8; "The St. Alban's Church Choir Concert," San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, January 26, 1871, 2; and, "Religious Notices," San Francisco Daily Examiner, January 28, 1971, 3.

[60] With Bishop Kip's urging, Lyman had been elected Rector of the Episcopal Chapel in Rome, Italy, where he served from 1860 to 1870. He was then, on Kip's recommendation, elected Rector of Trinity Church, San Francisco. He served there until elected Bishop Coadjutor of North Carolina in 1873--having neither served nor lived in North Carolina previously. He must have been known by a reputation spread by others, likely including Kip. When Lyman was elected, Kip departed from his usual practice of simply and formally granting consent to the consecration. In this instance, he noted "great pleasure." (See letter from William Ingraham Kip to Benjamin B. Smith, October 21, 1873 in the files of the House of Bishops, Papers on Consecration, Translation and Resignation--Box 4, Theodore B. Lyman File, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.)

[61] "Religious Notices," San Francisco Daily Examiner, June 10, 1871, 3; letter from Theodore B. Lyman to William Rollinson Whittingham, March 28, 1871, in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland; and, Henry G. Langley, compiler, The San Francisco City Directory for the Year Commencing April, 1874, San Francisco, Francis & Valentine, 1874, 928.

[62] Breck, Life, 470; California, Journal ... 1870, 30; California, Journal ... 1871, 32; and, "The Associate Mission of the Pacific Coast," The Spirit of Missions, 51 (August, 1886), 291.

[63] "Visitation to Humboldt Bay," Pacific Churchman, 5 (February 23, 1871), 4.

[64] "Postponement of Visitations," Pacific Churchman, 5 (May 25, 1871), 4; California, Journal ... 1872, 33-4; "Illness of the Bishop," Pacific Churchman, 5 (June 1, 1871), 4; "News Items," Pacific Churchman, 6 (June 22, 1871), 4; "News Items," Pacific Churchman, 6 (June 29, 1871), 4; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to John Seely Hart, August 1, 1871, in the Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York.

[65] "News Items," Pacific Churchman, 6 (August 24, 1871), 4; "News Items," Pacific Churchman, 6 (September 7, 1871), 5; "News Items," Pacific Churchman, 6 (September 21, 1871), 5; California, Journal ... 1872, 35; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Journal of the ... General Convention ... 1871, Hartford, Conn., The Church Press, 1872, 240 and 283; James Thayer Addison, The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931, n.p., Archon Press, 1969, 211 (Hereinafter referred to as Addison, The Episcopal Church,); DeMille, Catholic Movement, 151; and, California, Journal ... 1871, 28 and 40.

[66] "News Items," Pacific Churchman, 6 (February 22, 1872). 4; and, "News Items," Pacific Churchman, 6 (march 7, 1872), 4.

[67] California, Journal ... 1872, 18; "California," The Spirit of Missions, 38 (May, 1873), 295; letter from William Ingraham Kip to unknown bishop, March 16, 1874, in the Howard Chandler Robbins Collection of Bishops' Papers, St. Mark's Library, The General Theological Seminary, New York, New York; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), Journal of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 6th, 7th and 8th, A. D., 1874, San Francisco, Cubery & Co., 1874, 21, and 37-8; and Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Journal of the ... General Convention ... 1874.

[68] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Rollinson Whittingham, July 18, and September 6, 1874, in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to William Stevens, September, 1883, in the Charles Roberts Autograph Collection, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania. Apparently Kip's desire to leave California was widely known among the bishops, since in 1872 he was offered the new and vacant post of Bishop of Haiti--which he refused, to the surprise of the Presiding Bishop (see: letter from Benjamin B. Smith to William Rollinson Whittingham, February 6, 1872, in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.).

[69] California, Journal ... 1867, 179-80, and 184-5: and, Protestant Episcopal Chruch in the United States of America. California (Diocese), Journal of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 7th, 8th and 9th, A.D., 1873, San Francisco, Cubery & Co., 1873, 42.

[70] Letter to the people of the Diocese of California, 1874, reprinted as "Pastoral Letter," Pacific Churchman, 18 (April 1, 1884), 3.

[71] Letter from Henry J. Whitehouse to William Ingraham Kip, December 14, 1869, reprinted in "The Church of Sweden," Pacific Churchman, 7 (October 16, 1873), 4; and, letters from William Ingraham Kip to Henry Whipple, October 3, 1872 and December 10, 1873, in the Henry Whipple Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

[72] "Program and Details of Fourth of July Celebration-Literary and Musical Exercises," Daily Alta California, July 4, 1870, 1; and, "Our National Day - The Procession," Daily Alta California, July 5, 1870, 1.

[73] Samuel H. Willey, A History of the College of California, San Francisco, Samuel Carson & Co., 1887, 155-7.

[74] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Dr. Ballard, March 29, 1869, in the Stokes Autograph Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; letter from William Ingraham Kip to (George) Whipple, January 12, 1874, in the Howard Chandler Robbins Collection of Bishops' Papers, St. Mark's Library, The General Theological Seminary, New York; and, letters from William Ingraham Kip to unknown, December 17, 1877 and April 9, 1878, in the Archives, Diocese of Connecticut, Hartford, Connecticut.

[75] Kip, Historical Notes; William Ingraham Kip, "Traces of American Lineage in England," New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, 2 (July, 1871), 113-23; and, Kip, Olden Times.

[76] "News Items," Pacific Churchman, 9 (February 11, 1875), 4, which referred to the "New England Historic Ecmalogical ociety"; and, letter from Rachel Stuhlman, Reference Department, Library of the Boston Athenaeum, to the author, June 4, 1974, confirming details including the name "New England Historic Genealogical Society.

[77] William Ingraham Kip, The Unnoticed Things of Scripture,

New York, Thomas Whitaker, 1884. For example, there are articles on these words: Nephew, after, prevent, horns, and by.

[78] In brief, footnotes refer to 21 scholarly works. Not only does he seem to have read widely, but he deals comparatively with the contents--demonstrating a critical faculty being applied to Biblical scholarship (e.g., _Ibid_., 17). He seems conversant with some Nineteenth Century archaeological work in Palestine (pp. 94-99). Further, he was aware of at least seven books of the New Testament Apocrypha (p. 138-9).

[79] _Ibid_., 9-10, 13, 23-5.

[80] _Ibid_., 10-11, 91- 114, 209, 233-4, and 130.

[81] "The Unnoticed Things of Scripture," _San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser_, 18 (December 26, 1868). 12.

[82] "The Unnoticed Things of Scripture," _The American Quarterly Church Review, and Ecclesiastical Register_, 21 (April, 1869), 155; "Bishop Kip's 'Unnoticed Things of Scripture,'" _The Churchman_, New Series 2 (December 12, 1868), 404; and, "Books &c.," _The Church Journal_, 16 (September 23, 1868). 293.

CHAPTER 10

Notes

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[1] Breck, Life, 519-20; William Stevens Perry, The Episcopate in America, New York, The Christian Literature Co., 1895, 31 and 33; and William Ingraham Kip, "Address at the Burial of the Rev. J. Lloyd Breck," Pacific Churchman, April 13, 1876, 1.

[2] Letter from Maria L. Kip to (Mrs. B. D. Wilson), October 3, (1876), in the Wilson Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California; California, Journal ... 1877, 31; and, letters from William Ingraham Kip to Mrs. B. D. Wilson, November 1 and 22, 1876, in the Wilson Collection Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

[3] Letter from (Secretary of the Navy) R. W. Thompson to William Ingraham Kip, May 9, 1877 in the Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library. Miscellaneous Letters Sent by the Secretary of the Navy (11-209), page 511. Record Group 45. National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D. C. The Board consisted of six civilians and seven military officers (five from the Navy and two from the Army).

[4] Protestent Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), Journal of the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 1st and 2nd, 1878, San Francisco Bacon & Co., n.d., 20 (Hereinafter referred to as California, Journal ... 1878.).

[5] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to the editor, June 20, 1877, reprinted as "Communications," Pacific Churchman, July 5, 1877, 1; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to (William Stevens Perry), March 4, 1878, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, New York.

[6] Proceedings of the Board of Visitors of the United States Naval Academy for 1877, 42-3, 47, 57-9, Records of the Naval Academy, Volume 284, Record Group 405, Old Military Branch, Military Archives Division, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D. C.; and, "Communications," Pacific Churchman, July 12, 1877, 1.

[7] "St. Paul's Church," The (Albany, New York) Argus, October 29, 1877.

[8] "Charley Mooney (Column)," "The Knickerbocker News, June 4, 1965, 10A; and California, Journal ... 1878, 20.

[9] California, Journal ... 1878, 20. It was the same point he was pleased to make about the Diocese of California; lack of partisanship. (See: Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), Journal of the Twenty-sixth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 5th and 6th, 1876 (sic, the text says May 3 and 4), San Francisco, Bacon & Co., n.d., 35--Hereinafter referred to as California, Journal ... 1876; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to A. C. Treadway, August 16, 1876, in the Hale-Mull Collection, Box 22, Pennsylvania Historical Collections, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.)

[10] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Journal of the ... General Convention ... 1877, n.p., for the convention, 1877, 236 and 244; and, DeMille, Catholic Movement, 194.

[11] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to A. C. Treadway, August 16, 1876 in the Hale-Mull Collection, Box 22, Pennsylvania Historical Collections, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.

[12] Letter from William Ingraham Kip to Charles Franklin Robertson, March 4, 1878, in the Archives, Diocese of Connecticut, Hartford, Connecticut.

[13] E. E. Beardsley, "The Church of the Apostles," American Church Review, 30 (April, 1878), 313-5; and, "Kip on the Apostolic Church," Daily Alta California, October 29, 1877, 1.

[14] California, Journal ... 1876, 34-5; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to Charles Quintard, February 22, 1877 in the Archives, Diocese of Tennessee, Memphis, Tennessee.

[15] California, Journal ... 1879, 13, 22-3; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), Journal of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 4th and 5th, 1881, San Francisco, Cubery and Co., 1881, 23 (Hereinafter referred to as California, Journal ... 1881, 23 (Hereinafter referred to as California, Journal ... 1881.); Cleland, Empire, 186-7; Helen Holdrege, Firebelle Lillie,

New York, Meredith Press, 1867, 272; and William Ford Nichols, Days of My Age, San Francisco, Privately Printed, 1923, 154.

[16] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), Journal of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 5th and 6th, 1880, Stockton, Eshback & Hamilton, n.d., 24 (Hereinafter referred to as California, Journal ... 1880.); and, California, Journal ... 1881, 22.

[17] California, Journal ... 1880, 55; and California, Journal ... 1881, 43.

[18] California, Journal ... 1879, 23; "Bishop Wm. Ingraham Kip," San Francisco Morning Call, October 28, 1878, 3; "The Episcopal Church," San Francisco Examiner, October 28, 1878; Celebration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Consecration of the Bishop of California, San Francisco, Pacific Churchman, 1878. Comparison of these cources shows that the "historical address" was reprinted in untitled, but credited fashion in William Stevens Perry, The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883, Vol. II, Boston, James R. Osgood and Co., 1885, 313-7.

[19] "The Episcopal Church," San Francisco Examiner, October 28, 1878; "Honors to Bishop Kip," San Francisco Morning Call, October 29, 1878; and, Celebration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Consecration of the Bishop of California, San Francisco, Pacific Churchman, 1878, 6.

[20] California, Journal ... 1879, 24-5, 29 and 63; Walter Ching Young, like P. W. Cassey, was never ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Kip. Unlike Cassey, Young attended all but one Diocesan Convention from 1879 through 1893.

[21] "Episcopal (Duane) China Mission of San Francisco," Pacific Churchman, July 20, 1876, 4; "Celestial Nuptual," San Francisco Examiner, November 4, 1884, 3; "Official Acts of the Bishop of California," Pacific Churchman, December 1, 1881, 1; and, "A Chinese Wedding,"San Francisco Chronicle, November 4, 1881, 2.

[22] He routinely reported limited financial support, from 20 to 25 active followers, and a position subordinate to a parish rector. One Diocesan historian later reported "Mr. Young did the best he could, with his limitations of education and speech, but never seemed to gain much influence or standing with the members of his race, and accomplished little." (See Kelley, California, 85.)

[23] *The Argonaut*, March 1, 1879, 1; Horatio Seymour, "The Influence of New York on American Jurisprudence," *Magazine of American History*, 3 (April 1879), 217-30 (see especially p. 226); Cleland, *Empire*, 188-90; letter from William Ingraham Kip to Horatio Seymour, May 3, 1879 in the William Ives Rutter, Jr. Collection, William Ingraham Kip File, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas; and, "Death", S. F. *Examiner*.

[24] William Ingraham Kip, *The Popular Religion of the Day*, New York, J. J. Little & Co., 1880.

[25] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, *Journal of the ... General Convention ... 1880*, n.p., Printed for the Convention, 1881, 206, 236 and 263-4.

[26] DeMille, *Catholic Movement*, 194; Addison, *The Episcopal Church*, 226; and, California, *Journal ... 1881*, 20.

[27] Chorley, *American Episcopal Church*, 349-50; DeMille, *Catholic Movement*, 134-5; Henry C. Potter, *Sisterhoods and Deaconesses at Home and Abroad*, New York, E. P. Dutton, 1873; "Official Acts of the Bishop of California," *Pacific Churchman*, December 1, 1881, repeated verbatim in Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, California (Diocese). *Journal of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 3d and 4th, 1882*, Los Angeles, Mirror Printing and Binding House, 1882, 50; and, Kelley, *California*, 133.

[28] Chapter on "(The Library of) William Ingraham Kip," in Flora Haines Apponyi Longhead, *The Libraries of California*, n.p. 1878, 135-8 (Hereinafter referred to as Longhead.); letter from William Ingraham Kip to B. P. Avery, October 8, 1873 in the Overland Monthly Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to unknown, April 21, 1875 in the Kip Biography File, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

[29] "Death", S. F. *Examiner*; *The Elite Directory for San Francisco and Oakland*, San Francisco Argonaut Publishing Co., 1879, 141; examples of art shows *sans* Kip-owned paintings being included are -- Protestant Episcopal Church Home Association (San Francisco), *Catalogue of the Carnival Loan Collection*, San Francisco, Alta California Steam Printing House, 1880.

[30] Longhead; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to unknown, February 16, 1882 in the Archives, Diocese of Connecticut, Hartford, Connecticut,

[31] William Ingraham Kip, "Miracle Plays," *The Argonaut*, March 8, 1879, 7.

Chapter 11

Notes

[1] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California* ... *May 14th and 15th, 1884*, Stockton, Daily Independent Steam Printers, 1884, 35, 38 and 50 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal*... *1884*.).

[2] *Ibid*., 45; and, Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of California* ... *May 26th*, *27th*, *28th*, *29th*, *A.D.*, *1886*, San Francisco, Pacific Churchman Press, 1886, 34-5.

[3] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California* ... *May 2d and 3d, 1883*, Stockton, Berdine and Atwell, Printers, 1883, 29; letter from Maria L. Kip to (Mrs. B. D. Wilson), October 17, 1882, in the Wilson Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marion, California; and, "Death," S. F. *Examiner*.

[4] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of California* ... *May 11th*, *12th*, *13th*, *14th*, *A.D.*, *1887*, San Francisco, Pacific Churchman Press, 1887, 73-4, 38; "Death of Bishop Kip," San Francisco *Chronicle*, April 7, 1893, 3 (Hereinafter referred to as "Death," S. F. *Chronicle*.); "California," *The Spirit of Missions*, 52 (June, 1887), 224; and, Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, California (Diocese), *Journal of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California* ... *May 2nd*, *3rd*, *4th*, *5th*, *A.D.*, *1888*, San Francisco, Pacific Churchman Press, 1888, 49 and 46 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal* ... *1888*.).

[5] California, *Journal* ... *1888*, 47; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese) *Journal of the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of California* ... *May 22nd*, *23rd*, *24th*, *25th*, *A. D.*, *1889*, San Francisco, Pacific Churchman

Press, 1889, 49, 54, 83 and 21-46 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal* ... *1889*.); "Bishop Kip's Assistant," San Francisco *Examiner*, February 6, 1890, 3; "The Episcopalians," San Francisco *Bulletin*, February 6, 1890, 2; "Divided Delegates," San Francisco *Chronicle*, February 6, 1890, 8; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Special Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California for the Election of an Assistant Bishop ... February 5th and 6th, 1890*, San Francisco, Bacon & Co., n.d., 3; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Fortieth Annual Convention of Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California ... May 7th, 8th, and 9th, 1890*, San Francisco, Bacon & Co., 1890, 23 and 84 (Hereinafter referred to as California, *Journal* ... *1890*.); Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. California (Diocese), *Journal of the Forty-second Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of California ... May 17th, 18th and 19th, 1892*, Oakland, Enquirer Publishing Co., 1892, 6 and 47.

[6] John Howard Brown, editor, "William Ingraham Kip", *Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States*, Vol. IV, Boston, James H. Lamb Co., 1901, 566; "Federal Appointment," *Pacific Churchman*, May 15, 1883, 6; and letter from William Ingraham Kip to L. Bradford Prince, June 20, 1883, in the William Ingraham Kip Biography File, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

[7] W. W. Cope, reporter, Case No. 9347 Department One, Dec. 23, 1885, B. F. Dahl et al., Respondents, *v.* James Palache, et al., Appellants, *Reports of Cases Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of California*, Vol. 68 (1885-1886), San Francisco, Bancroft-Whitney Co., 1906, 248-50; prose entry signed merely "Stewart," dated August 3, 1882 in the Treasurer's Account Book of Bishop Berkeley Mission and St. Mark's Church, Covering the Period of January, 1877 through April 30, 1887, archives of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Berkeley, California; and, entries for May 29, 1882 and July 24, 1883 in the Vestry Minutes Book of St. Mark's Parish, Covering the Period May 29, 1882 through August 6, 1902, archives of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Berkeley, California.

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[10] *Pacific Churchman*, February 1, 1885, 7; letter from William Ingraham Kip to Mr. Lee, February 2, 1885 in the possession of Col. and Mrs. Carroll E. B. Peeke, San Francisco, California; letter from Maria L. Kip to unknown, November 16, (1885), in the Wilson Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California; letter from William Ingraham Kip to (William L.) Githens, January 19, 1886, in the Protestant Episcopal Bishops Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University New Haven, Connecticut; and, letter from William Ingraham Kip to Mrs. Twing, September 30, 1886, in the William Ingraham Kip Biography File, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

[11] Each newspaper reports a different figure for the monetary gifts. The lowest figure is of a $5,000 total gift. The highest amount mentioned is nearly $7,000 plus a certificate of deposit (amount unspecified). Two bank deposit figures are reported: $4,900 and $5,500. There seems little doubt that "more than $5,000 is a safe assessment. "The Kip Reception," *Alta California*, July 2, 1885, 1; "The Episcopal Jubilee," San Francisco *Chronicle*, July 2, 1885, 4; "1835-1885." San Francisco Daily *Examiner*, July 2, 1885, 2; "Golden Wedding," San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, July 2, 1885, 3; "Bishop Kip's Reception," San Francisco *Morning Call*, July 2, 1885, 1.

[12] The data for this discussion of salary payments and indebtedness was taken from reports of Treasurers, as contained in annual Convention Journals from 1859 through 1889, and the pamphlet prepared by H. T. Graves. Tabular coverage of the financial data with notes, and the Graves' piece are contained in Appendix I. It is worth note that the Graves' accounting -- with its intent of demonstrating Diocesan beneficence in salary matters -- closes with mention that this tally of generosity "does not include a purse of over Six Thousand Dollars presented to the Bishop at his Golden Wedding in 1855."

[13] Henry Bond Restarick, Constance Restarick Withington, editor, My Personal Recollections, Honolulu, Paradise of the Pacific Press, 1938, 194-5.

[14] California, Journal ... 1888, 67 and 24.

[15] California, Journal ... 1889, 86-95, 38-9, and 31; California, Journal ... 1890, 83.

[16] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Journal of the ... General Convention ... 1889, n.p., Printed for the Convention, 1890, 19, 39, 82, 85 and 116 (Hereinafter referred to as General Convention ... 1889.).

[17] Letter from H. T. Lee to lay members of the Standing Committee, May 15, 1890, in the Nichols' Letter Book on Election as Assistant Bishop, Archives, Diocese of California, San Francisco, California. The letter was explicitly written in behalf of the Vestry of St. Paul's Parish, Los Angeles, which ultimately became the cathedral of the southern jurisdiction.

[18] General Convention ... 1889, 748, 36, iv, and 114.

[19] Ibid., 696-700.

[20] Ibid., 539; letter from William Ingraham Kip to Henry B. Whipple, July 2, 1889, in the Whipple Papers, Manuscripts Division, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota; and, General Convention ... 1889, 11.

[21] California, Journal ... 1890, 56-60.

[22] California, Journal ... 1889, 58 and 76; letters from William Ingraham Kip to The Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of California, and to W. S. Neales, April 2, 1889, in the Bishop Kip File, Archives, Grace Cathedral, San Francisco, California; California, Journal ... 1889, 31; California, Journal ... 1888, 99; California, Journal ... 1889, 44.

[23] Letter from William Ingraham to (William) Tatlock, November 28, 1889, in the File of the Secretary, House of Bishops. Box 12, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas; California, Journal ... 1890, 53-5.

[24] Nichols expected his name to be withdrawn from consideration. The story of events of the election itself are depicted in Frederick G. Bohme, "Bishop Nichols of California: A Disputed Election and a Delayed Telegram," The Historical Magazine, 29 (June, 1960), 145-52.

[25] California, Journal ... 1890, 54-5 and 63.

[26] All the following items are in the Nichols' Letter Book on Election as Assistant Bishop, Archives, Diocese of California, San Francisco, California: Printed letter from Jonathan B. Wakefield to Hobart Chetwood et al., January 19, 1890, the newspaper from which the clipping is taken is unknown; letter from Thomas Watkins to William F. Nichols, April 10, 1890; telegram from Henry B. Restarick et al. to William F. Nichols, February 6, 1890; Telegram from George W. Dickinson for the Vestry of National City, to William F. Nichols, February 7, 1890; letter from Henry B. Restarick to William F. Nichols, February 8, 1890; letter from Elias Birdsall to William F. Nichols, February 10, 1890; letter from A. G. L. Trew to William F. Nichols, February 13, 1890; telegram from the Standing Committee President to William F. Nichols, February 6, 1890; and, telegram from William Ingraham Kip to William F. Nichols, February 8, 1890.

[27] Letter from William Ingraham Kip (written by Maria L. Kip) to William F. Nichols, April 7, (1890) in the Nichols letter Book on Election as Assistant Bishop, Archives, Diocese of California, San Francisco, California; and William Ford Nichols, Days of My Age, San Francisco, Privately Printed, 1923, 101-2.

[28] "The Witness," and "Splashes," The Wave, VII (December 12, 1891), 5-6; and letter from Maria L. Kip to (Mrs. B. D. Wilson), March 11, 1892, in the Wilson Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

[29] "Ordered a Deacon," San Francisco Examiner, July 8, 1892, 9; and, "An Ordination," San Francisco Chronicle, July 8, 1892, 5. During 1974 the author was speaking about ordinations with a life-long Episcopalian in her early 90's. She mentioned having been taken to this ordination so that she might see and remember Bishop Kip. She mentioned the crowded quality of the church, and the great and widespread saddness occasioned by the spectacle of his infirmity. She reiterated the note of saddness and the need of the younger Kip to place his head into his grandfather's hands.

[30] "Death", S. F. *Examiner*; "Bishop Kip Dead," San Francisco *The Morning Call*, April 7, 1893, 8; "Bishop Kip," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, April 7, 1893, 1; and, "Death," S. F *Chronicle*.

[31] "Bishop Kip," San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin* April 7, 1893, 1; "Bishop Kip," San Francisco *Morning Call* March 30, 1893, 4.

[32] "The Burial of Bishop Kip," San Francisco *Examiner* April 11, 1893, 5; "Bishop," San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, April 11, 1893, 2; "The Last Rites," San Francisco *Morning Call*, April 11, 1893, 8; "To the Tomb," San Francisco *Chronicle*, April 11, 1893, 10; Henry Bond Restarick, Constance Restarick Withington, editor, *My Personal Recollections*, Honolulu, Paradise of the Pacific Press, 1938, 201; and, "Bishop Kip's Obsequies," *The Churchman*, 61 (April 22, 1893), 541.

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- I. Primary Sources
    - A. Books and pamphlets by William Ingraham Kip
    - B. Articles and chapters by William Ingraham Kip
    - C. Letters
        - 1. Autographic letters from William Ingraham Kip
        - 2. Autographic letters to William Ingraham Kip
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I. C. 3 - Autographic Letters Between Others

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I. C. 5. - Printed Letters to William Ingraham Kip

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The Journals indicated below are widely accessible. There is no need to report the lengthy, detailed and slightly varying titles. These are journals for the conventions of the organizations, and for the years, noted.

Journals of the Conventions of the Diocese of California.

1850
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Special 1857
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Journals of the Conventions of the Diocese of New York.

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1853
1856
1859
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1868
1871
1874
1877
1880
1889

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